

TERMS.
Two Dollars per annum, always payable IN
ADVANCE.
Letters and communications must be post-
paid. The rule is imperative, in order to shield us
from the frequent impositions of our enemies.—
Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken
care of by the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay
for postage.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
The following article appeared in the Columbia
Times of last year. Mark the menaces held
out to those who would the whip!

We perceive from the Richmond Enquirer
that old Ritchie has a warm contest with the
abolitionists, who are urging
liberty to the slaves in the
District of Columbia. For our own part,
we think it useless to throw away argument
upon the fanatics of the north. Let them
take their course, and we will take ours.
The moment they touch the subject of sla-
very, let the union be dissolved.

We give the following from the Richmond
Enquirer:

Through the South.—These fanatics are
either knaves, or fools. Whittier is mad
enough to press an immediate abolition, at
the hazard, as he confesses, of dissolving
the union. And the New-York addressers
insist upon the abolition in the District of
Columbia, as 'a measure in the power of
Congress, and so manifestly easy and safe,
that it ought not to be delayed another year.'

But this is only to be the entering wedge
for other innovations on the part of Congress.
Let them go on to say, that 'when this is
done, we cannot but hope that some wise
application may be made of the power of
Congress to regulate commerce among the
several states, so as to effect the entire
suppression of the infamous Domestic Slave
Trade!' Thus the fanatics will proceed,
step by step, to another. And we must
prepare to meet them on the very threshold
and arrest their first measure, which is not
improper in itself, but still more alarm-
ing, as being the ominous prelude to other
encroachments. Ignorant as they are of
the very theory of our federal institutions,
they also most profoundly ignorant as they
must be of the southern feelings upon this
subject, they are so inflated as to declare
that 'their course presents the only means
of preserving our national union.' Madmen
they are! they are yet to learn, that their
course is perhaps the only means for tearing
the union asunder! If they are counter-
acted and encouraged by a considerable
body of the northern people, nothing can
save the shipwreck the most auspicious
form of government that was ever devised
for advancing the liberties of mankind.

ANOTHER GAG!

We wish the following articles are particu-
larly worthy of a place in our 'Refuge of Oppres-
sion.'

ANDREW THEO. SEM. Feb. 2, 1835.

Dr. Editor of the Boston Recorder.

Dr. Sir.—Recent occurrences, which
need not here be detailed, render it incumbent
upon the members of this Seminary, as a
body which they owe to themselves and the
public, to state in what attitude they now
stand in relation to the subject of Slavery.

We therefore request an insertion in your
paper of the following communication.

We would briefly premise, that a Com-
mittee on Colonization, in connection with
the Society of Inquiry, has existed here for
many years; and that most of the Students
have been advocates of the Colonization So-
ciety—about two or three years since, an
Anti-Slavery Society was formed among
us, embracing a small portion of our num-
ber; and that since that period, there has
been occasionally some discussion of the
 merits and principles of the two Societies.

A short time since, Mr. Geo. Thompson
made a visit to this town, and while here,
attended repeatedly in the Methodist church,
he also once met the members of this In-
stitution in the Seminary Chapel, at the re-
quest of some of their number, to answer
such questions as might be proposed to him.

The Students very generally attended his
lectures, and for the most part were pleased
with the eloquence and Christian spirit with
which he argued the cause of the African.
He could not, however, be inferred from the
interest which was taken in his lectures,
and we adopt his principles, or those of any
other association on the subject of Slavery.
Nor do we feel called upon to express
our opinion with regard to the different plans
which are now before the public for the re-
moval of this evil.

Mr. T. while here was treated with Chris-
tian courtesy; and we saw nothing in him
which could justify us in withholding such
courtesy. By his visit and addresses, our
attention was drawn with some interest to
the subject which he advocates; but depre-
cating the effects of deep excitement on this
subject, we have with entire unani-
mity among ourselves, and the full appro-
bation of our respected Instructors, conclu-
ded to refrain, for the present, from all ac-
tion in any associate capacity. The Com-
mittee on Colonization has been voluntarily
dissolved. The Anti-Slavery Society above
mentioned, has been given up. The forma-
tion of a new Society which was commence-
d, has been cheerfully relinquished. The
Students are united in the conviction, that it
is inexpedient for them at present to organ-
ize any Society in relation to this subject.

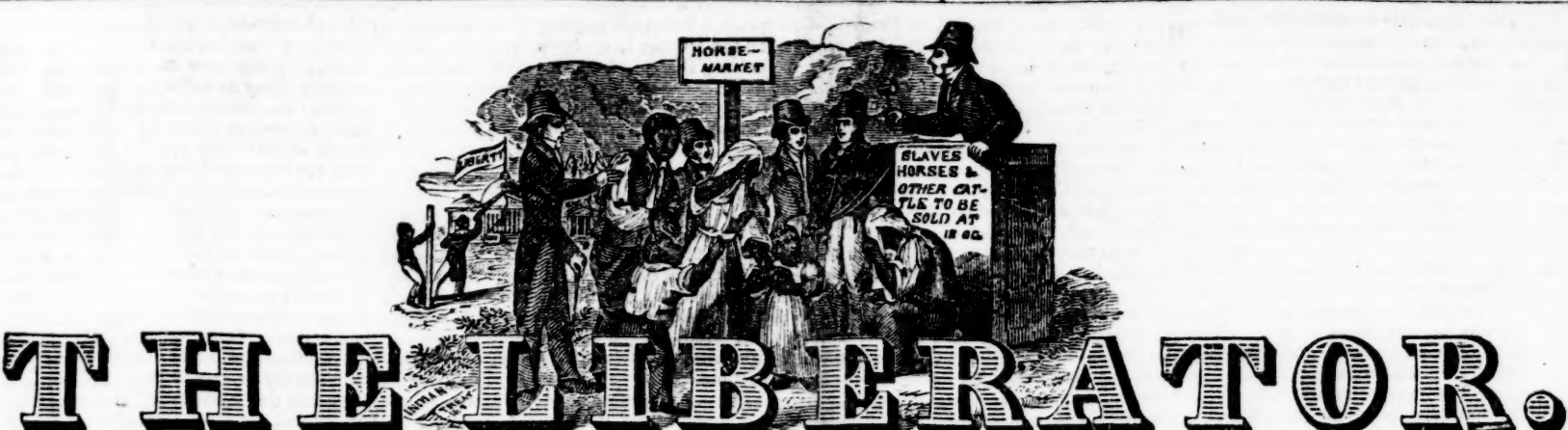
We submit to the above statement the
following resolution, adopted at a general
meeting of the members of this Institution.

Resolved, That while connected with this
Seminary, our duties as Theological Stu-
dents have the first claim upon our atten-
tion; and fearing that the agitation of the
subject of Slavery might interfere with the
serious prosecution of our studies, and with
that harmony which ought to prevail among
all associated action on the subject, in
this Institution.

In behalf of the Students,
J. E. EDWARDS,
A. R. BAKER,
J. L. THOMPSON,
W. S. TYLER,
S. M. WILCOX,

To the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, Editor of the
Boston Recorder.

Dr. Sir.—Permit me in behalf of the
Faculty, to say a few words, expressive of



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. V.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. [NO. 8.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] [SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1835.

the heartfelt satisfaction we feel in the con-
duct pursued of late by the members of this
Institution, and in the position which they
have deliberately taken, relative to the sub-
ject of Slavery. They have felt, and we
trust ever will feel, a lively interest in this
subject, and a readiness to do what they can
for the present and eternal welfare of the
enslaved and oppressed. But when, at the
suggestion of the Faculty, they took the
matter into serious consideration, they soon
came, with entire unanimity, to the conclu-
sion, that they could not form associations
and agitate the common questions in relation
to slavery, without endangering the spirit of
piety and brotherly love among them, and
essentially interfering with that intellectual
and moral improvement, which it is the grand
object of the Institution to promote. We
are gratified at the frank statement above
made of what they have done, because we
think it highly creditable to their character,
and because we hope that such an example
of sober consideration, Christian harmony,
and sacred regard to the order and prosper-
ity of the Seminary, exhibited by the whole
body of its members, will not be without
some salutary effect.

After these remarks on the harmonious
and brotherly conduct of the students, it
may not be improper to add, that on the sub-
ject of slavery, the Faculty are of one mind.

We take the liberty to say farther, while
we heartily wish success to every wise and
Christian effort 'for the relief and improve-
ment of the colored race,' and for diminish-
ing and removing the evils of slavery; it is
a serious question with us, whether we, who
are called to the arduous work of training
up others for the sacred office, can consist-
ently take an active part, at present, in any
existing association formed with reference
to Slavery, or in any way intermeddle with
it, except so far as Christian benevolence
may require us to seek the highest good of
those in bondage, after the example of the
Apostle Paul, and other primitive ministers
of the gospel.

We have, with deep regret, noticed events
which have occurred in some seminaries of
learning and religion, where slavery has been
made a subject of special discussion and as-
sociated action; and we must say, we have
been unable to avoid the conviction, that this
absorbing subject, on which the community
is so divided, cannot be introduced into our
public institutions, as a subject of special
discussion at the present time, without in-
terfering more or less, with the duties of the
Instructors, and without essential injury to
the improvement and future usefulness of
the students. And we have little doubt, that
this will ere long be the judgment of all who
are entrusted with the great interests of our
literary and theological seminaries.

In behalf of the Faculty,
LEONARD WOODS,
Theo. Sem. Andover, Feb. 3, 1835.

SLAVERY.

TRAFFIC IN HUMAN SOULS.

The following handbill has been put into our
hands by a friend who was recently in New-Or-
leans, from which city he brought it. Read it, A-
mericans, and blush not merely for your country,
but for your species! Judge ye, by the pangrye
passed upon them, whether the slaves are not qual-
ified for freedom.

VALUABLE
SERVANTS
FOR SALE AT AUCTION,
BY ISAAC L. MC'COY.

This day, THURSDAY, 21st inst., at 12
o'clock, at the
EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE,
WILL BE SOLD.

34 Valuable SERVANTS, viz:

1. Harry, aged about 26 years; a first
rate cartman, axeman and sawyer; has been
accustomed to work in a saw-mill and wood-
yard; has been about 8 years in the country,
and understands the care and management
of horses, and possesses an excellent charac-
ter.

2. George, aged about 23 years; has been
about 8 years in the country; is a good car-
ter and axeman, and has been accustomed to
work in a wood-yard and bakery.

3. Altmore, aged about 31 years; a first
rate sawyer and axeman; accustomed to
work in a wood-yard, and has been 3 or 4
years in the country.

4. Barney, aged about 18 years; a first
rate negro, handy at almost all kinds of
work; has been accustomed to work in a
wood-yard, and has been about 4 years in
the country.

5. Henry Buckner, aged about 20 years;
a good axeman, sawyer and field hand, ac-
customed to work in a wood-yard, and has
been about 6 years in the country.

6. Lewis, aged about 20 years; a first
rate hand in a wood-yard; an excellent
butcher, good field hand; speaks French
and English, and has been about 10 years in
the country.

7. Sam Crumo, aged about 22 years; a
first rate hand in a wood-yard; a carter;
speaks French and English, and has been
about 12 years in the country.

8. Little Ned, aged about 18 years; a
good hand for a wood-yard; has been one
year in the country.

9. Big Ned, aged about 22 years; do.
do.

10. Ben, aged about 20 years; do.
do.

11. Aaron, aged about 33 years; a first
rate hand for a wood-yard, in which he has
been employed for many years; is an excel-
lent cartman; has been about 15 years in
the country, and speaks both languages.

12. Dick Jackson, aged about 25 years;
a good axeman and sawyer, and an excellent
hand for a wood-yard, to which he is accus-

tomed, and has been one year in the coun-
try.

13. Dick Morgan, aged about 39 years; a
very honest, trusty servant; has acted as
porter in a grocery store for several years,
and has worked for several years in a rope
walk and wood-yard; is an excellent axe-
man and sawyer; has been in the country
since a child, and speaks French and En-
glish.

14. Dillard, aged about 31 years; a good
cook, a good axeman and sawyer; has work-
ed about 4 years in a wood-yard, and has
been about 4 years in the country.

15. Charles Palmer, aged about 24 years;
accustomed to work in a wood-yard; is a
good axeman, carter, and field hand, and
has been about 4 years in the country.

16. Daniel, aged about 18 years; a first
rate house servant; is very trusty; a toler-
able good cook; has been raised in the coun-
try; speaks French and English, and possess-
es a first rate character.

17. Anthony, aged about 15 years; a first
rate house servant; very trusty and active;
a good sawyer; has been raised in the coun-
try, and possesses a first rate character.

18. Joseph, aged about 14 years; a first
rate servant; handy at all kinds of work;
has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard,
and has been about two years in the coun-
try.

19. William, aged about 20 years; a good
rough carpenter; a good coachman; has
been 5 years in the country; speaks French
and English, title only granted.

20. Ned, aged about 30 years; a good
carpenter and oster; has been about 4 years
in the country, and is subject to rheumatism.

21. Robert, aged about 23 years; a rough
blacksmith and carpenter; handy at all
kinds of work; understands filing and set-
ting saws, has been 8 years in the country,
speaks French and English; is a first rate
servant, and possesses a first rate character
in every respect.

22. Peter, aged about 35 years; is a first
rate overseer, and has always been employ-
ed in that capacity; has been for 5 years in
Opelousas, and about 4 years in New Or-
leans; is very honest and trusty, and a first
rate servant in every respect.

23. Dana, aged about 24 years; (wife of
Peter) a first rate house servant, washer,
ironer and plaiter; a good cook; has been 5
years in the country; speaks French and
English, and possesses a first rate character.

24. Malinda, aged about 24 years; a good
house servant; a tolerable good washer and
ironer; has been raised in the country; and
speaks both languages.

25. Chloe, aged about 18 years; an excel-
lent house servant; was born in Mobile; has
been about one year in New Orleans, and
possesses an excellent character.

26. Daphney, aged about 25 years; a
first rate cook, both in French and En-
glish style, and a good pastry cook; was raised
in Mississippi, has been 7 years in New Or-
leans, and possesses an excellent character.

27. Catharine, aged about 27 years; a good
field hand; was raised in the country; speaks
French, Spanish and English; title only
guaranteed.

—ALSO—
The following ORPHAN (!!) children, viz:

28. John, aged about 12 years.

29. James, aged about 11 years.

30. David, aged about 9 years.

31. Cyrus, aged about 9 years. They
have been about 16 months in the country.

32. Yellow Alex, aged about 8 years.

33. Black Alex, aged about 8 years.

34. Abraham, aged about 5 years.

The slaves are all thoroughly acclimated,
and, with the exceptions above stated, are all
guaranteed against the diseases and vices
prescribed by law.

TERMS.—One-half of the purchase money
payable on the first of May, 1835, and the
other half on the first of May, 1836, for notes
drawn and endorsed to the satisfaction of the
seller, and secured by mortgage until final
payment. The slaves will only be delivered
after the acts are signed, and the notes deliv-
ered and approved. Bills of sale to be pas-
sed before W. V. Lewis, Esq., Notary Public,
at the expense of the purchaser.

[From the Independent Messenger.]
THE AMERICAN UNION.

We notified our readers a few weeks since
that a movement was making among our
orthodox brethren throughout this State [it ex-
tends through New-England] to organize a
new Anti-Slavery Society. As a faithful
chronicler of moral events, we would now
inform them that the proposed Convention
met in Tremont Hall, in Boston, on the 14th
of Jan. and a Society was formed, called,
'The American Union, for the relief and im-
provement of the Colored Race.' From a
sketch of the doings, we learn that the or-
ganization of the Convention was rather
quagmire. It appears that the first notice
sent out calling the Convention, proposed discus-
sion. But the 'old hands,' foreseeing that
the real hot-headed Abolitionists would be
present and beset the peaceful with a wordy
war, assembled themselves together in a
kind of a private convalesce; here all preli-
minaries were settled; a correspondence was
opened with persons supposed to be of the
same caste at a distance, and another and a
counter notice was sent out a week before
the time of meeting, inviting those to be
present 'who agreed with the movers in the
opinion that a new organization was neces-
sary.' Rev. A. A. Phelps, C. P. Grosvenor,
George Thompson, Joshua V. Himes, W.
L. Garrison, E. G. Loring, and some other
Abolitionists of the 'old school' who travel-
led 'forty miles' through the 'mud,' apper-
ced on the strength of the first notice, and
claimed their seats in the Convention. Their
claim was not admitted—discussion of the
question with them was deprecated, and they

were called 'impertinent gentlemen.' The
Convention was organized by the choice of
Hon. William Reed, of Marblehead, Presi-
dent—Rev. Baron Stow, of Boston, Vice
President, and Rev. J. W. Chickering and
Mr. Charles Tappan, Secretaries. A com-
mittee of five members, viz. B. B. Edwards,
John Tappan, N. Adams, D. Noyes, and Ja-
cob Abbott, presented the Convention with
a Constitution for the Society, about to be
organized, a Constitution that trembles at
popular prejudices; presents no plan of op-
eration; exhibits no fixed principle, and calls
for no peculiar declaration of faith, as a nu-
cleus around which to rally its energies, and
draw new converts. But in order to prevent
Abolitionists, Colonizationists—slaveholders
and all the 'dough faces' in the land, from
falling into its ranks and corrupting the
'American Union,' a provision was made in
the Constitution that none shall hereafter be
entitled to membership but those favored
ones who 'may be elected.'

The most prominent article in the Consti-
tution declares 'Slavery to be wrong, and
that it ought to be abolished with the least
practicable delay.' On presenting this article
to the Convention, a warm discussion took
place. Some thought that the word 'six' should
be substituted for the word 'wrong.' Others
thought the word 'wrong' was best, it being
the least offensive to the guilty. The propo-
sed amendment was finally rejected. Some
objected to the phrase—'least practicable
delay,' and proposed as a substitute—the
word 'IMMEDIATELY.' This amendment was
also rejected. On the adoption of this article,
which was objected to by Rev. B. Stow,
the Vice President, as not speaking the plain
truth, he resigned his seat and left the Con-
vention.

We are totally unable to tell what this
'Union' Society proposes to do. True, it
speaks of its object is, 'the relief and im-
provement of the Colored Race.' But it
does not tell us what it means by 'relief and
improvement,' and of its plans of operation
it gives the public no pledge. We hope,
however, that it will prove to be a means of
great good to the trodden-down and oppres-
sed. But the blacks are yet faithless them-
selves, for when those present were invited
to join the Society, there was an empha-
tic cry of 'No! No! No! We do not under-
stand the pertinency of the name 'American
Union,' when applied to a Society that
exhibits no distinctive doctrine, and that
presents the prize of membership upon the
doubtful alternative of an election. Per-
haps the Recorder can tell us something
about this matter. We wish to know who
it proposes to unite. All the friends of the
Colored Race? Why then the election? The
slaveholders of the South? Why then call
Slavery 'wrong'? Why then was not the 'call'
endorsed with a few of the names of Bap-
tists, Methodists, Unitarians, etc., and why
not have the notice given in other religious
papers, as well as the Recorder?

P. R. R.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

Extract of a letter from a member of Con-
gress to his friend in Massachusetts, dated
Jan. 19, 1835.

Congress are doing little—at least very
little excitement is produced by what they
do.

The principal business is evidently figuring
for the next President. The opposition
has no rallying point. Webster, north-
east, and McLane, west—Calhoun and
White, south. Party feeling out of the ques-
tion, and Webster would receive the support,
as he now does the respect, of three-fourths
of the moral and intellectual worth of all
parts of the Union. But I can anticipate no
change or chance that will give him one-
fourth part of the votes for President.

Richard M. Johnson would get more votes
than Webster;—and as to intellect, or any
other quality, which goes to make up a states-
man, he compares with Webster just about
as well as C. Cough, the paper stainer, used
to do, with Samuel Dexter.

It is amusing, as well as afflicting, to see
how both parties at the North, have been
compromising and sacrificing to the slave-
holders. Van Buren has been coaxing and
bribeing to them, and for ten years sacrific-
ing one after another, all the principles he ever
had, at their shrine, and feeding them with
offices; and after all, he will not get one in
ten of even the Jackson votes, among the
slaveholders.

In fact, the leaders of both parties have
with almost equal obsequiousness united in
putting a stop to free inquiry and free dis-
cussion on the subject of slavery—and thus
put in jeopardy the fundamental principle,
which our Fathers so manfully contended
for, and so fully enjoyed, and which they
would sooner have died, than give up, on
any question. This, the influential leading
men of both parties, as a matter of political
policy, seem to feel it necessary, or at least
expedient to give up, and throw away, along
with the principle of protection, to propitiate
the nullifying slaveholders of the South. So
that, even in Boston, where, not half a cen-
tury since, every building was consecrated
to the free discussion, and fearless defence
of the rights of man; now, not a meeting
house, vestry, hall, school-house, or wood-
shed, where the owners dare have the prin-
ciples of African emancipation freely dis-
cussed, lest it should be burnt or pulled down
upon their own heads! If both parties do
not find that they are bartering a valuable
birthright, for a mess of pottage, which they
will never be permitted to taste—I will never
make another almanac.

If Webster has influence enough to es-
tablish slavery in Massachusetts, and will do
it, the South will go for him. If Van Buren
will do the same in New-York, they will go
for him.

No man, last session, said and did more
obsequiously just what Andrew Jackson asked
at the hands of his supporters, than Hugh
L. White; and his talents are as little adapted
to secure the respect of the Southern
whigs, as his politics—on the other hand the
Southern Jackson men were mighty thick
with Van Buren—and now, the deep-felt re-
spect and admiration of the one party for
Webster, and the subservience of the other
for Van Buren, are all giving way before a
rule of action which always has, in every
slaveholding State, with but a single excep-
tion, been the predominant one—and I have
no doubt always will be—at all events, it
will show itself to be so, as often as once in
four years. The indications to my mind, at
present, seem to leave Massachusetts this
alternative only, viz: to give a vote which
she may honestly be proud of, but which
must inevitably be lost—or to give it where
she would be ashamed to have it procure
success.—Boston Courier.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following extract of a letter from
Washington, shows that the illusion which
was thrown over the public mind by the A-
merican Colonization Society, has been dis-
sipated, and that the deformities of the sys-
tem, and the wicked designs of some of its
advocates, are too apparent, longer to de-
ceive an enlightened people. The best part
of the adherents of this exploded system
have forsaken 'the assembling together'—
and those few, who remain its friends, if we
may judge of the whole by those who were
present, and active at this 'lighted-up' meet-
ing, are sheer slavery-men 'in the abstract.'

We venerate the character and memory of
many of those worthy and good men, who
were instrumental in establishing the Coloni-
zation Society. We doubt not they were
sincerely desirous of rendering service to
the cause of God and of human nature.
But their system has been tested, and proved
totally illusory. So it was in reference
to the subject of temperance. There was at
first, a Society formed 'for the suppression
of intemperance,' which recognized temper-
ate drinking, and gradual reform; but the
principle on which this society was based,
has since been proved altogether erroneous;
and temperate drinking is shown to be the
only support of drunkenness; because, if
there were no temperate drinkers, there
would be none intemperate; and as long as
temperate drinking continues, there will al-
ways be more or less of intemperance. Nev-
ertheless, the originators of this system
were true friends of temperance, and hon-
estly supposed that they were doing the best
that could be done for the promotion of that
cause; while at the present day, the advo-
cates for temperate drinking are decidedly
hostile to the object originally aimed at,—
their design being to perpetuate the use, and
consequently the abuse of intoxicating drinks.
And in regard to the subject of Slavery—
many of the originators of the Colonization
Society honestly aimed at the entire aboli-
tion of the enormous evil; and supposed
their scheme the best calculated to bring
about the desired end; but experience has
proved, that so far from having the tendency
and effect contemplated, it is the surest plan
that could possibly be devised, for the ever-
lasting continuance of Slavery; and it is sup-
ported by Slaveholders for that very reason.
It is also demonstrated, that nothing short
of the immediate and total renunciation of
the right to hold slaves can be depended upon,
as a remedy for this blighting curse. TOTAL
ABSTINENCE, in reference to Slavery, as
well as to the use of intoxicating drinks, is
the true and only true doctrine.—Haverhill
Gazette.

[It Here follows an extract of a letter from the
Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Ga-
zette, who says of the annual meeting of the A-
merican Colonization Society in that city:—I am sorry
to say that the meeting was a total failure. There
was no intellect developed, except by the few re-
marks of Mr. Southard and Mr. Mason. All the
rest were below mediocrity.]

PAWTUCKET ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We have perused with much interest the faithful
and able Report of the Managers of the Pawtucket
Anti-Slavery Society, at its first annual meeting—
We give an extract or two. Speaking of the aboli-
tion cause, it says—

Its principles are omnipotent. Heaven
and earth may pass away, but not one jot or
tittle shall pass from the law until all is ful-
filled. On this law abolitionists stand. On
this rock they build their cause, and they
know that the gates of hell shall not prevail
against it. They are charged with being
enemies to their country. They deny the
charge, and maintain that they are their
country's only consistent friends. They
know, as surely as they believe in the exis-
tence of a God who maintains the throne of
the universe in righteousness, that a nation
built up through oppression and blood, can
not prosper, it cannot stand. They are well
assured, that under the weight of the sin of
slavery, this nation reels to and fro, and stag-
gers like the drunken man. God will avenge
the cause of the poor, the wretched, and the
oppressed. His ear is opened to their cry;
and the cry of hundreds of thousands are
daily coming up before him. The Lord hath
spoken, who can but prophecy? We can
look for nothing but ruin to our nation, if
slavery is not speedily abolished. Regard-
ing therefore the law of God, we seek its
abolition; regarding in compassion and mercy
the millions of our brethren in bonds, we
seek its abolition; and, regarding also the
welfare of our own dear native land, which
can only be saved by its abolition, we seek
for its entire overthrow. In respect to the
organization, progress and prosperity of this
Society, we think that facts authorize us to
speak encouragingly.

We have not perhaps done all which might
have been done, but we trust that through
the instrumentality of the Pawtucket Anti-
Slavery Society, much good has been done.

We have had frequent addresses from most
eminent speakers; among whom were the
Rev. Messrs. Blain, May, William Lloyd
Garrison of Boston, Charles Stuart and Geo.
Thompson of England, who have been lis-
tened to with candor by multitudes of our
citizens. We have made collections to aid the
objects of the Society. We have spread
gratuitously a large number of books, pam-
phlets, and tracts on the subject of slavery.
We are confident that the cause among us
is gaining strength, and will ultimately tri-
umph over all opposition.

By contributions for the purpose of pur-
chasing and distributing publications calcu-
lated to throw light into the public mind on
the subject of slavery, every one can do some-
thing; and by every man's talking with his
neighbor, we may perhaps do as much; and
none should neglect to supplicate the throne
of God's grace most fervently and constant-
ly, for the 'suffering and the dumb.'

Real abolitionists have need to be watchful.
Their greatest danger, perhaps, lies not in the
opposition of those who resort to mob
law in order to crush them, but from those
who profess to be abolitionists, but in work
deny the doctrine—from men who excuse
themselves from doing good, because for-
sooth, somebody else is advocating good
doctrines and a good cause, in a wrong spirit!

With as much grace and propriety might
Paul refused to have acted in the cause of
Christ, because Simon Magus professed re-
ligion! Let not abolitionists be deceived.
We hazard the unqualified belief, that it is
not the manner of abolitionists of which these
men are afraid—but their principles. These
they dare not espouse and carry through.
Nor is it the manner of abolitionists that dis-
turb and enrage the slaveholders and the
palliators of slavery at the North; but it is
their principles. Their unwavering and con-
stant assertion that slavery is a sin, a high-
handed transgression of God's holy law,
which should be immediately forsaken and
repented of. The bare assertion of this, is
branded as being harsh and censorious, while
the vilest epithets used with reference to
abolitionists, is passed over as if they were
as smooth as oil. Let abolitionists beware of
these Joabites; for while they give you
one hand with 'how do you do, my brother,'
with the other, they will inflict a mortal
wound on your cause. They will lower down
the standard of truth; they will try to ac-
commodate it to the unholy prejudice against
a man, because, he is what God made him to
be; and they will persuade you, if possible,
to believe that the 'time has not yet come to
build the Lord's house.' Finally, we call
upon our christian brethren; especially all
ministers of the gospel, to examine our prin-
ciples, and if they are right, to espouse them,
and live agreeably with them, and if not, to
show us wherein we err. We call upon our
neighbors, on our countrymen, to espouse
the righteous cause of abolition, and exter-
minate from our land, the seven headed
monster, that foe of God and man, American
Slavery.

We warn them, that unless they do it, de-
struction to our national liberties is at the
door. There is an accursed thing in our
camp, and unless it be ferreted out and de-
stroyed, neither the wisdom of legislatures,
the courage and skill of generals, nor the
combined force of fleets and armies as nu-
merous as those of Xerxes, and courageous
as the Spartan band, can ever save us. For
who can contend with the Almighty, and if
God be against us, who can deliver us from
his destroying hand?

PERSEVERING INDUSTRY OF AN AF-
RICAN.

REMARKS
OF
MR. DICKSON, OF NEW-YORK,
ON
THE PRESENTATION OF SEVERAL PETITIONS
FOR
THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
AND THE SLAVE TRADE
IN THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
DELIVERED
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES,
FEBRUARY 2, 1835.

MR. SPEAKER:—On the presentation of these petitions, and asking for them a different reference from that usually given to such petitions, I propose to offer a few remarks. They shall be presented in that blessed spirit of freedom and candor, truth and justice, that becomes a member of this House. I will not conceal my own feelings, and I shall studiously avoid intentionally injuring those of others. And whilst I am opposed to, and deeply deplore the existence of slavery in every form, and in every land, I, in common with the petitioners, disclaim all power in the National Government to control or abridge its duration in the several States of this Union. And throughout these remarks, in speaking of slavery in this country, I wish to be understood as confining my remarks to that portion of the country over which the National Government has ample and complete jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, and that is the District of Columbia. One of the petitions is signed by more than eight hundred ladies of the city of New-York. In the Jewish, Greek, and Roman histories, we learn that female restraints and entreaties were often heard in the public councils, and in one instance, were the cause of 'enlargement and deliverance' of 'light, and gladness, and joy, and honor,' to a despised and an oppressed people; and in all instances roused the patriot, the statesman, and the hero, to deeds of usefulness and glory, and were all-powerful in expanding and extending the principles of charity, humanity, and benevolence, and in breaking the chains of oppression. In the chivalrous ages of modern Europe, and since, and in the war of our independence, the influence of woman was talismanic over the heart of man, and roused to action all his noblest energies. And to her honor, all her remonstrances, petitions, and entreaties, and all her influence, have ever been exerted in favor of humanity, benevolence, and liberty. And surely, the chivalry of this House will never permit it to turn a deaf ear to the remonstrance of ladies, pleading, as they believe, for the wronged and the oppressed.

The petitioners complain that a portion of the people of the District of Columbia are, without crime, disqualified as witnesses. A freeman may commit any crime, even murder itself, in the presence of slaves only, and escape conviction and punishment. They complain that, by the laws of the District, which are the laws of Congress enacted to govern the same, every black man, and every mulatto of every shade and complexion, though born and nurtured in freedom all his days, the moment he touches the soil of the District, is presumed a slave; and by an ordinance of the City of Washington, he is treated as a disorderly person, and required to exhibit to the Mayor, within thirty days, evidence of his freedom, and enter into a bond with two freehold sureties, in the penalty of five hundred dollars, conditioned for his peaceable, orderly, and good conduct, and not to become chargeable to the Corporation for twelve months, to be renewed at the commencement of each year for two successive years, or forthwith depart from the city, or be committed to the work-house until he complies with such requisitions. Such imprisonment not to exceed twelve months for each neglect. So that the poor black, or mulatto, may be imprisoned at hard labor in the work-house, for the term of three years, although innocent, and without crime.

He may have been well educated, moral, and industrious, have exercised the elective franchise, and voted for the highest officers of the National and State Governments, entitled to all the rights and privileges of the white man and of an American citizen; yet in the District he shall be presumed a slave, and in the City of Washington a disorderly person, and compelled to give security for his good behavior for three years. No such presumption of crime is known to the laws of England, to the civil law, nor to the municipal code of the most despotic country in Europe. It has no foundation in the law of nature, the common law, nor in common justice, and is contrary to the genius and spirit of all wise and free Governments. It is a maxim that every man is to be presumed free and innocent, founded on the immutable principles of eternal justice, acknowledged by all, and which can never be changed, but by arbitrary tyranny which feels power, forgets right, and knows neither mercy nor justice.

The petitioners complain that, by the laws of the District, every such free black man or mulatto, going at large without the evidence of his freedom, is liable to be taken up as a runaway slave, and thrown into prison, and sold for prison fees, as a slave for life, unless he proves his freedom. Unless he proves his freedom, a freedom given him by a power older than the laws which incur a crime—older than the country which gave him birth—older than the primeval days of time, and which shall endure when this world is on fire, and time shall be no more—by God himself.

They complain that by the laws of that part of the District formerly Maryland, that such person be a freeman, and prove his freedom, and shall then refuse to pay the fees and rewards for apprehending fugitive slaves, he may be committed to prison, and sold as a slave for life. So that a freeman, although he does away the before-mentioned odious presumptions of law by clear proof, must still pay for his own illegal arrest and false imprisonment, for being thrown into the damps of a dungeon, and shut out from the light of day, for all the injuries, indignities and wrongs that could be heaped upon him, or be sold as a slave, and never more to breathe the air of freedom. Terrible alternative! more afflictive to a human being, having the feelings of a man, of a freeman, than death itself. Such laws are meshes to entrap the unwary, and to consign a freeman to servitude for life. They are man-traps set at the seat of Government of this Republic, to seize and drag into perpetual bondage a freeman, entitled to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen. Does such a statute blot the page or tarnish the annals of any other Republic on earth? Does it dishonor the pages of any monarchy or despotism now in the world? The tyranny of Caius Verres, in a province of the Roman Empire, was mercy when compared with such a law. Many, very many freemen, have

fallen victims to this merciless law, and lost all dear to them on this side of the grave. The petitioners complain of the severity of the punishments that may, by the laws of the District, or of that part of it which was formerly Maryland, be inflicted on slaves; that any negroes, or other slaves, for rambling by night, or the riding of horses by day, without leave, may be punished by whipping, cropping, branding, or otherwise, not extending to life, or rendering them unfit for labor; and for murder, arson, and petit treason, to have the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, and the head and quarters to be set up in the most public places of the county where the crime was committed. Such criminal laws, if not executed, and it is not pretended they are, to their full extent, appear like the relic of an extreme barbarous age, and in this enlightened and humane age of the world, are a foul blot on our statute book, and ought to be modified, or repealed.

The petitioners complain, that, by the laws of the United States, the slave trade, in and through the District of Columbia, is permitted to be carried on with distant States, and that this District is the principal mart of the slave trade of the Union.

Sir, the foreign slave trade with Africa is condemned by the laws of this country, of England, of France, and by those of almost every nation of the civilized world, as piracy; and those who carry it on are denounced as outlaws and the common enemies of the human race. And yet we tolerate, in this District, and at our seat of Government, a traffic productive of as much pain, anguish, and despair, of as deep atrocity, and as many accumulated horrors, as the slave trade with Africa.

And here, there are no foreign Powers to compete with us; we have no rivals; the trade is all ours, and the odium and the guilt are all our own. The traffic was, in former years, presented by a grand jury of the District as a nuisance. And, as long ago as the year 1816, it was denounced by the ardent and eloquent John Randolph, of Roanoke, on this floor, as a nuisance, and as 'an inhuman and illegal traffic in slaves'; and, on his motion, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the trade, and what measures were necessary for putting a stop to it. The committee were empowered to send for persons and papers; called before them many witnesses, and took numerous depositions, depicting in glowing terms the enormities and horrors of the traffic, and reported them to this House. But I do not find that anything further was done by that talented, but sometimes eccentric man, or by the House.

Since that time the slave trade in the District has increased in extent, and in its enormities. Free blacks have been kidnapped, hurried out of the District, and sold for slaves. Slaves for a term of years have been sold to the slave traders, transported to a distant land, beyond the hope or possibility of relief; sold as slaves for life, and their temporary has been changed into a perpetual bondage. It has been said by a committee of this House that the last mentioned class may apply to the Courts; that the Courts are open to them in the District.

To talk to men degraded to the condition of cattle, (their masters their enemies, conspiring with the purchaser to deprive them of liberty for life, and no freeman their friend) of courts of justice, is adding insult and scorn to injustice, and aggravating their doom by a mockery of all the forms and all the tribunals of justice.

Private cells and prisons have been erected by the slave traders in the District, in which the negro is incarcerated until a cargo of slaves, of 'human chattels' can be completed. The public prisons of the District, built with the money of the whole people of the United States, have been used for the benefit of the slave traders, and the victims of this odious traffic have been confined within their walls. The keepers of those prisons, paid out of the moneys of the whole people, have been the gaolers of the slave traders, until their drove, their cargo of human beings, could be completed.

The petitioners complain that a traffic so abhorrent to the feelings of the philanthropist, so repulsive with suffering and woe, is approved and licensed by the Corporation of the City of Washington, which receives four hundred dollars a year for each license, thus increasing her treasures by the express sanction of so odious a trade. Finally, the petitioners complain of the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, as the source of all the before mentioned evils, and others too numerous now to detail. They consider it as unchristian, unholly, and unjust, not warranted by the laws of God, and contrary to the assertion in our Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal.'

In the last debate, and in the last speech made on this floor on this subject, it was denied that these words meant, or had any allusion to slaves, and was asserted that many of the signers of the Declaration were masters of thousands; and had they an eye at all to slaves when they signed it, they would have been hypocrites unworthy of being commemorated by patriots, or honest men. Then slaves are not men, for the terms used were the broadest that could be used, and embraced the whole species. Let us consider for one moment whether the blacks and the mulattoes of this country are men like ourselves, and whether the signers of our Declaration of Independence were hypocrites. Heathen poetry instructs us that man, a generic term, embracing the whole species, all sexes, all ranks and conditions, all colors, and all complexions, was created in the resemblance of the Gods, and that while other animals looked upon the earth and never raised their eyes, to him was given, by his God, a countenance of dignity, and lofty grandeur, and he was commanded to behold Heaven, and raise his elevated looks to the stately mansions and the abodes of the Eternal.

The heathen philosophers teach us that man was created in the likeness of the Almighty, of God; and neither heathen poetry nor heathen philosophers, ever informed us of the creation of more than one species of man. By their doctrines, man was created the brother of his fellow man, and his equal. The Old Testament informs us that 'God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him'; and gave him dominion over all the air, and the fish, the beasts, the fowls of the air, and every creeping thing, but no dominion over, and no power to enslave his fellow-man.

And here, again, we learn the creation of but one species of man. Christianity, in all its holy precepts, and the New Testament, instruct us that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of

*Finit in effigiem moderantem cuncta Deorum;
Pronaque cum spectant animalia cuncta Deorum;
Os homini sublimis dedit; eo ungue tueri
Jus sit. Aeternis ad sidera tollere vultus.

Ovid's Met. B. 1. Verses 33, &c.

the earth.' Revelation, then, yea, God himself has declared there were, and are but one species of man; that all men are descended from one common origin, and were all created equal. The wise framers of the Declaration of Independence, and the founders of this Republic, in accordance with the doctrines of heathen poetry and heathen philosophy, of Christian philosophy, of the Scriptures, and of Revelation itself, in that immortal instrument, the enduring monument of their wisdom, proclaimed to an admiring world, as 'self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Did they mean slaves? Can any one doubt that they did? They spoke of man not as black, or white, but as embracing the entire species, all colors and all complexions.

Enlightened citizens of a Christian country, they shall be presumed to have spoken as Christians; and none but infidels, and those who deny the authenticity of the Scriptures, will pretend that God ever created more than one species, one race of men. They were no hypocrites. They were patriots, nobly struggling for their country's freedom; their hearts were warmed with the fires of liberty; they breathed benevolence and good will to the human race, and in deferential homage to the Ancient of Days, proclaimed aloud to the bond and free, the truth, impressed alike on the heart of the lettered and unlettered man by Nature and Nature's God, that 'all men are created equal.'

Whence, then, and who made the distinction between the white and the black man? It was not the decision of ancient times. Then the slave was the victim of conquest, and a white man. Nor has the decision of modern times been uniform on this subject. For as late as the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, hundreds and thousands of the youths of both sexes, of beautiful forms, from the peasantry of England, were fastened together with ropes, taken to the city of Bristol, and sold into slavery in Ireland. It was abolished on the conquest of Ireland by Henry II.

The slaveholders in ancient times, and in Ireland, contended with as much zeal for their right to enslave the white man, as any slaveholder in this District for his right to hold in bondage the black man or the mulatto.

It has been regretted by a Committee of this House 'that persons without the District,' as well members of Congress as others, 'having no concern with it,' should attempt to procure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade here, and it was in the year 1829, declared by a member of the House, in debate on this floor, to be 'meddling with matters truly other men's.'

Sir, the territory is Federal, and is under the care, protection, and government of the whole people of the United States. Congress is the sole legislative body for the District, to the exclusion of all others, and here possessing undefined, unlimited legislative powers, selected by the people of the whole Union. The whole Union defrays the expenses of the local Legislature and of the entire territorial government, builds penitentiaries, endows schools and colleges, makes safe walks, macadamized roads, canals, aqueducts, and bridges, pays the interests on loans, and beautifies and adorns the District by its Navy Yards, its arsenals, its capitol, and other public buildings and improvements, and enriches it by the annual expenditure of millions.

Every member of the House may, with or without petition, originate, bring forward, and propose to Congress any bill for the benefit of, or in any way concerning his own immediate district, his State, or any State in the Union. His powers for such purpose are, and must be, co-extensive with the jurisdiction of Congress. The power is incident to all legislative assemblies, having a general jurisdiction and the power of legislation. It is not only the right, but the duty of a member, to watch over, and with vigilance to guard, protect, and promote the interests of all parts of the Union. And shall it be said that he has no right and power to propose laws for the District of Columbia, to do away wrongs and oppressions here, where his powers of legislation are more unlimited than in any other part of the Union? The idea that he cannot, seems to me preposterous. And if a member has such right, surely his mind may be enlightened, his attention awakened to corruption, crimes, or oppressions here, and his patriotism roused to action, by the petitions of his constituents, or of the people of any other portion of his country. In this District every member of Congress and every citizen of the republic should feel a deep and lively interest. They have a voice in selecting its rulers; they all contribute to defray its expenses, and they all have a deep concern in its honor and glory, and have a right to be heard in the legislative assembly, in all matters concerning the appropriation of money here or the correction of abuses, oppressions, and tyranny. As the seat of their empire, under the superintending power of the General Government, they have a right to require that it shall be governed in accordance with our Declaration of Independence, and the principles of free government, and that the despotism of Archangel and of Turkey should not prevail here.

But, Sir, if it were necessary that the citizens of this District should petition, many of them have petitioned for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in this District, and this fact may not be known to most of the members of this House. I hold in my hand a petition, taken from the files of this House, presented in the year 1828, signed by the Judges of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, and more than 1000 respectable citizens of the counties of Alexandria and Washington, and then owning a large proportion, and I am credibly informed, more than a moiety of the property of this District. So that the abolition of slavery here would be in accordance with the feelings and wishes of a large and highly respectable portion of the citizens of the whole District.

Sir, the petitioners ask that slavery and the slave trade in and through the District of Columbia may be abolished, with their appalling train of evils. They enter into no details, and they prescribe no terms, no conditions. Those they very properly submit to the discretion and the wisdom of Congress. They ask that these petitions may be referred to a select committee. This request, I submit, is reasonable and should be granted. The parliamentary usage of all free deliberative and legislative assemblies, requires that the petition should be referred to a committee, a majority of whom should be favorable to the prayer of the petitioners. Similar petitions, for years past, have been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and for the last ten or twelve

years, I believe, a majority of the Committee on the District have been from the slaveholding States. I mean no reflection on the Speakers of the House, but mention it as a fact proper to be known by the people. Perhaps as long as it was a slaveholding territory, it was proper in relation to the general business and interests of the District, that a majority of the Committee should be from the slaveholding States. But, sir, their early education, associations, habits, and interests, and a knowledge of human nature, must convince us that they could never view petitions such as those now presented with a favorable eye, and consider them without that prejudice natural to and inseparable from the honorable, the worthy, and the very best men.

Sir, at the session before the last, at the last session, and the present, similar petitions from various parts of the Union, signed by many thousands of citizens, have been presented to this House and referred to the Committee on the District, and no report has been made thereon to this House.

I mention this as a fact only, and do not intend to cast any censure on the present or past committees of the House. They may have had good and sufficient reasons for the course they have pursued, unknown to me. But, sir, I differ with them entirely in opinion, as to the course they have pursued, and must frankly declare, that on a question of so much importance, of so great magnitude, I believe it would have been better for the majority of the Committee to have made a report favorable or adverse to the prayer of the petitioners, and thus have enabled the minority to present a minority report. And thus would all the facts and circumstances connected with slavery and the slave trade in the District, and the views and reasons of the whole Committee have been published and seen, and read by the American People. But the petitions are not published—there is no report—and no light is shed on the dark subject of slavery and the slave trade.

A right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances is secured to the people. But, sir, of what use to the people is the right to petition, if their petitions are to be unheard, unread, and to sleep 'the sleep of death,' and their minds to be unenlightened by no report, no facts, no arguments? Have Congress the power to abolish slavery, and the slave trade, in the District? It is believed they have. Of the three Committees who have reported very briefly on the subject, one expressed no opinion, another admitted Congress had unlimited powers, the other admitted that they had by the letter, but denied that they had by the scope, spirit, and meaning of the Constitution, without the consent of the people of the District.

By the Constitution, Article I, Section 8: 'Congress is to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever,' over the District.

Could language give higher power, or greater authority? The power of Congress more unlimited than that of the Legislatures of the several States! They are limited in many instances by the Constitution of the United States. To the power of Congress over the District, there is no limitation. It is undefined, unlimited, and absolute, or it has no foundation and no existence. Congress never did, it had no power, and never could have received and accepted, without a Convention of the States, a cession from the States of Maryland and Virginia, abridging, in the least, such unlimited powers. Congress has then the same power over the subject in the District, that the several State Legislatures have in the several States. Several of the State Legislatures have abolished slavery in their respective States. And the power, I believe, is universally conceded to every State Legislature to abolish slavery and the slave trade within its own territories. Congress must have such power over the District, or whilst slavery may be abolished in every State in the Union, it must be perpetual here. We should then have a Republic, rotten at the core, boasting of its freedom and tolerating the most cruel and odious oppressions. But if the consent of the people of the District be necessary, the entire consent of the whole People must be obtained. The majority cannot act; the majority have no power, no will, and if they had, they have no legislative organ but Congress to express it. So that by this doctrine, whilst slavery may be abolished in the several States, it must be perpetual here. For never, until human nature is entirely changed, or until the millennium, when enslaved man will be emancipated by a Power more than mortal, will all the citizens of this District unite in the abolition of slavery.

And are the measures proposed by the petitioners expedient? It is believed that they are. And here I would beg leave to notice some of the objections that have heretofore been made to their adoption. It has been said by a former Committee of this House, that 'the question must be in the end, unless suffered to rest, be productive of serious mischief, if not danger to the peace and harmony of the Union.' Not so. Slavery here has no necessary connexion with slavery in the several States. It exists, so far as that is concerned, under separate governments, and the action of one of these governments in relation to slavery, has no necessary connexion with the action of the others.

Again it was said by the same Committee, the question 'creates a restlessness in the slave for emancipation, rendered incompatible with the existing state of the country. Humanity may sometimes fail of its object, and rivet tighter the chains it would loose, by injudiciously interposing its good offices, in cases where it belongs more properly to others to act.'

Sir, the petitioners claim, and I claim an equal right to act and to be heard with any citizen of the District or of the Republic! Strange, indeed! if we have only to give, give, and have not the right to petition 'for a redress of grievances,' wrongs and cruel oppressions. Shall humanity be told, shall the hundreds of thousands who have petitioned, be told, that herand their efforts, will only rivet tighter the chains of slavery in this District? No danger of insurrection can, or will be feared in the District. The number of whites is near five to one of the slaves, and considerably more than twice that of the entire black population. The excess of the white population, the military, the marines, the arsenals, arms and ammunition, are a complete and entire security against any and all insurrections of the slaves in the District.

Again, it was said by the same Committee, 'It is not the District of Columbia, alone, that is interested, but a large portion of the United States, that must be affected by every movement of the kind, and particularly Maryland and Virginia; and that slavery ought not to be abolished here until abolished in those States.'

I deny that the question has any necessary connexion with the slaveholding States.

The abolition of slavery here would be productive of no injury to the surrounding States. It has been abolished in one State without injury to an adjoining State. And to make the abolition of slavery in the District dependent upon its abolition in the States of Maryland and Virginia, would prevent the General Government from selecting their own time for the performance of an act of justice, too long delayed, to a much injured class of our fellow-beings. The will of the National Government, as well as the benevolent wishes and prayers of hundreds of thousands of humane petitioners, would be dependent on the legislative acts of two separate Governments. The petitioners disclaim all alliance between slavery here and slavery in the several States; and I hope that the citizens of the slaveholding States will not claim such alliance, and that they will not attempt to make slavery here dependent upon slavery there; and that they will not contend that an attempt to abolish slavery in the District is a meddling with slavery in the several States. Should they thus claim, and thus contend, ought not the eight millions of People inhabiting the free States to double their exertions for the abolition of slavery in this District? But, sir, I cannot believe they will claim such alliance.

Sir, I believe it is expedient to grant the prayer of the petitioners and to abolish slavery and the slave trade throughout the District. They are not warranted by the laws of Nature, or of God, and are oppressive and unjust—and injustice can never be tolerated without crime, where the power exists to correct it. And it appears to me that no one can seriously doubt that Congress possesses full and ample power. It will strengthen the District by the introduction of a free population, and do much to protect it against all future invasion. The abolition of slavery will render the District more prosperous. Agriculture will flourish; its fields and plantations will be better cultivated and improved. Arts and manufactures will be increased, and industry and enterprise will be doubled. The black population will be rendered more serviceable than they now are; for in the same proportion that you degrade man, you destroy his usefulness. Money would be more freely appropriated, and a better feeling toward the District would exist. Greater harmony would prevail throughout the Union. The public mind would be quieted and tranquilized. The power of Congress over slavery spent and ended, there would be no more petitions for the abolition of slavery—none, none, would ask Congress to interfere with slavery in the several States.

The prayer, then, of the petitioners is reasonable; in accordance with the nature of man, and founded on the principles of eternal justice. The time, the age, the progress of liberal principles throughout the world, seem to require of this Republic the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The inquiries of Spain and Portugal have been abolished, and slavery throughout the British dominions has ceased to exist. The abolition of slavery has kept pace with the march of republican principles in South America, and there, as sceptres have fallen from the hands of kings and tyrants, the shackles have fallen from enslaved man; and slavery has ceased to exist, and is unknown throughout the South American Republics. It is only known in Brazil, which is still a monarchy, and has never assumed a republican form of government. And shall slavery be upheld and retained by this Government, boasting of its freedom and its republican principles? Our country spent hundreds of millions of dollars and lost tens of thousands of lives to secure our independence and freedom from the tyranny and oppression of Britain. And we uphold and support, at the Seat of our Government, personal servitude, personal bondage, and cruel oppressions, harder to be endured by the sufferers for one day, than years, ay, than ages of the oppressions of Britain, by our ancestors. And do not our professions, consistency, and the honor of our country, demand freedom from personal bondage in all places under the sole legislation of the National Government? If we refuse to grant it, shall we not be liable to be reproached in the following language of the illustrious Jefferson, when speaking of slavery and the struggle of our ancestors with England, 'What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man, who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and even death itself, in vindication of his own liberty; and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose?'

Those whose early education, associations, habits, and interests, have familiarized them to slavery, surely cannot refuse to unite with those opposed to it from education, early habits of association, thinking, and acting, and as they believe from Religion itself, to banish slavery and all its real or supposed evils from the District of Columbia. The common land, where all the legislators of this country meet to transact the business of a great and the only Republic, should be lovely, smiling with peace, and blessed with the especial presence of liberty and justice. No bondage, no stripes, no fetters, or chains, inflicted or fastened on man without crime; no tears and screams of the oppressed, no heart-broken lamentations, no wailings of despair for the lights of morality and religion extinguished; for hopes present and hopes future dimmed; for all the delightful and holy associations, and joys of domestic bliss, for I consider the negro as a man; for all the ties of kindred, of blood, and of nature, torn asunder and dissolved forever, should fatigue the eye or pain the ear of any legislator or officer of this Government, or of the citizen of this, or of any other country, who makes a pilgrimage to this Mecca, this land of the faithful, this, as it should be, chosen residence of Freedom, to render homage at the shrine of liberty.

Every man, in looking at this District, and this alone, must agree with me. To render this chosen land beloved by all, the pride and the glory of all, we must first render it lovely. Lovely it can never be to all, while slavery and the slave trade continue to tarnish its annals. Methinks I hear some one exclaim, the present is an inauspicious time; the country is not yet prepared for such a measure. How long shall the legislators of this country wait, before they spread the unalloyed blessings of an entire exemption from personal servitude over this District? For more than thirty years, the citizens of the country have petitioned Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in this District. Grand Juries of the District have presented the slave trade as a nuisance. Essays have been published in the newspapers of the District, recommending, and more than one thousand citizens of the District have petitioned for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

And again, I ask, how long shall Congress wait? How long! oh, how long! before a citizen of this only Republic, in view of the freedom of this District and the common man here, may with equal pride, equal love, and with as much truth, burst forth the elevated sentiments, uttered in the warm impassioned language and burning in the Irish advocate and orator, when contemplating the freedom and exemption of England, a country governed by a crowned head, and an hereditary peerage, whose tyrannies and oppressions our ancestors could not endure, from personal servitude and perpetual bondage. How long! oh my God! how long, before an American citizen, believing in American freedom, in the genuine spirit of to and of the stranger and sojourner here, and of man, to every man in this District—that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced, no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African may have been burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what atrocities he may have been devoted to the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil, 'not, ah not of Britain, but of this District of Columbia,' the altar and the sink together in the dust, his soul is swept beyond the measure of his claims, and bursts from around him, and he stands deemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, the genius of universal emancipation!

MR. DICKSON then moved a resolution of the memorial to a select committee. MR. CHINN moved to lay the memorial on the table, and the yeas and nays; which were ordered.

The question being taken, it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 117, nays 77.

YEAS—Messrs. John J. Allen, Allen, Allan, William Allen, Archer, Ashley, Baldwin, Burch, Bynum, Carr, Campbell, Campbell, Carmichael, Carr, Clay, Clinton, Chinn, Claiborne, Clay, Clayton, Coker, Coffey, Cramer, Crockett, Duffell, Veport, Day, Deberry, Dickinson, Dismore, Dunlap, Feider, Ferris, Foster, Fox, Wm. K. Fuller, Fulton, Gamble, Gann, Graham, Gillet, Gilmer, Gordon, Goss, Graham, Grayson, Griffin, J. Hall, T. H. Halsey, Hamer, Hannegan, Harlin, Hartway, Hawkins, Heath, Howell, Hunting, Inge, Ebenezer Jackson, Jarvis, R. J. Johnson, H. Johnson, Kinnard, Lane, Lane, Lea, Lewis, Love, Loyall, Lucas, Lyon, Mann, Marshall, Mardis, May, McCall, McIntire, McKay, McKim, McVeen, McWhorter, Mitchell, R. Mitchell, Murphy, Patterson, Peyton, Pickens, Pierce, Pickett, Plummer, Polk, Pope, Reynolds, Robertson, Seidley, Seidley, Smith, Spangler, Speight, Standifer, Starnes, Wm. P. Taylor, P. Thomas, Tompkins, Turner, Turrell, Vanderpool, Van Hook, Watmough, White, Wilde, Williams, Wilson, Wise.—117.

NAYS—Messrs. John Quincy Adams, Heman Allen, Banks, Barber, Bates, Bell, Bell, Binney, Buckee, Briggs, Burd, Burgess, Burns, Casey, Claiborne, William Clark, Coulter, Crane, Darling, Denny, Dickinson, Evans, E. Everett, Fowler, P. C. Fuller, Gilbrink, Goussard, Hard, J. M. Harper, Hays, Hazen, Hazeltine, Hoister, Hubbard, W. Jackson, B. Jones, Kilgore, Laporte, L. Lee, Lincoln, L. K. Mann, McIntire, M. Mason, McCarthy, McKean, Miller, Milligan, Miner, Morgan, Ogden, Parker, Pearce, Phillips, Potts, Reed, Reed, Schenck, Shinn, Slade, Stanes, Starnes, Wm. P. Taylor, Thomson, Trumbull, Vance, Vance, Vinton, Wagner, Webster, Webster, Whallon, F. Whittlesy, Yung.—77.

CONGRESS. In Senate, Wednesday, February 11.—Mr. Ewing rose and addressed the chair as follows:

MR. President: I hold in my hand, and am instructed to present to the Senate, petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It is but just to say of these memorialists, that they are actuated by a spirit of pure philanthropy, and Christian charity, and they are entitled to the most respectful consideration of the Senate. I shall move their reference to the Committee on the District of Columbia. I hope that Committee will not be satisfied with merely passing them over in silence; but that they will give the subject their nation their views upon the subject; that they will stand in the way of the measure solicited by the memorialists, they will be made known, and being known, they will be appreciated. No one is better qualified than the Honorable Chairman of the Committee to examine and report on this subject, and I have no doubt, but that in the spirit of candor and justice, and respect for the opinions of every portion of our country, becoming an American statesman, and I move the reference.

The memorial was then referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. MR. McKean presented the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the memorial was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

MR. Shepley presented a petition from Brunswick, Maine, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Referred.—Nat. Intelligencer.

Extract of a Letter dated BARRABOES Dec. 10, 1834. 'Our negro population are conducting themselves with great propriety, nor can we discern any signs of insubordination or discontent.—The crops are looking well, but the country is in want of rain so much, that when it comes it will be too late to do that crop of yams and other ground provisions. Our accounts from other islands with respect to the negroes are cheering. Order is restored in Demerara. From Antigua we learn that nothing can exceed the good behavior of the negroes, who, however, are paid that \$3 per month was not enough for their labors. The planters will correct their error.'

JAMAICA. Advice from Jamaica to the 24th ult. have been received by the Norfolk Beacon. The paper of the latest date says: 'The accounts from all parts of the Island are now very gratifying.'

Slavery abolished in the West Indies. A letter received by a gentleman in St. John from his correspondent at Antigua, (W. J. H.) on the subject of Slavery there, dated August 1, 1834, unqualifiedly declared that 'August 1, 1834, there is nothing to regret.'

Discussion in the House of Representatives on the presentation of Petitions from Maine, Massachusetts, New-York and Ohio, for the Immediate Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, in the District of Columbia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, February 16, 1835.

Mr. Evans presented the petition of a large number of citizens of Waterville and Vassalboro, in the State of Maine, praying for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and stated in brief terms, the substance of the memorial, and his hope that at no distant day, the attention of Congress would be given to the subject; and that so far as he could tread on firm constitutional ground, he should go promptly and unhesitatingly. The subject was not free from difficulties, but he trusted they would be overcome by the wisdom, perseverance, patriotism, and philanthropy which Congress might bring to its consideration.

As other similar memorials had been already referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia; he moved the same reference of this, in the hope that the Committee would, at some early period, present a report.

Mr. Phillips said he was about to present a memorial in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It was signed by 120 male citizens, who are all represented by legal voters; and also by 2033 ladies of the county of Essex, in the State of Massachusetts.

These memorials, said Mr. Phillips, are many of them known to me to be of the most respectable character and standing. They respectfully and earnestly entreat the attention of Congress to the object to which they refer. They are just, humane, and patriotic; the motives by which they were dictated are commendable; and the object, which they seek may be accomplished, and can only be accomplished by the action of Congress. Upon these grounds, he moved that the memorial be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

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Mr. Bouldin said that he had not supposed he would vote for the printing of this memorial until he heard it read. But after having heard it read, he should vote for the printing of it, not because he approved of the printing of it, or of the object of it; nor that he dissented from the general propositions about liberty and slavery in it; but because he wished his constituents to know what feelings were entertained by their northern brethren (some of them) of slavery and slaveholders, and the means of abolishing slavery.

He said he was unwilling to draw any comparisons between the country that he had the honor in part to represent, and any other portion of the Union, but every remark about slavery, and slaveholders, and slave-markets, made in that memorial, in relation to this District, applied equally to the habits, customs and legal rights of the people of all the South. He wished them to see what those opinions and feelings were; and therefore, and for that only, he should vote for printing the memorial.

Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, hoped that the motion to reconsider would prevail, and that the memorial would be laid on the table. He repudiated the interference of the Northern with the rights and property of the people of the Southern States. Whenever the North should succeed in procuring legislation by Congress in regard to these rights and this species of property, that moment the Union would be dissolved.

Mr. Boon said, as he had asked for a division of the question, and belonged to a non-slaveholding State, it was perhaps proper that he should say a word or two. There was no person more opposed to slavery than himself; but while he was opposed to the principle, he was also opposed to interfering with those rights to property which were guaranteed to the citizens of particular States and Districts by the Constitution of the United States. It would be recollected that this question, when the subject of the admission of Missouri into the Union was before the House, had come very near dividing the Union. He thought the same course which had been adopted by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Phillips,) in presenting a similar memorial this morning, which was, to move that it be laid on the table, was the proper one, and that this memorial should be disposed of in a similar manner.

Mr. Fillmore said, as it was understood that the Committee on the District of Columbia would not act upon this subject at the present session, it was certainly due to the petitioners that the motion which had been made by his colleague (Mr. Dickinson) should prevail. It was not unreasonable that the memorial should be printed and preserved among the documents of the House. He disavowed most unequivocally, now and forever, any desire on his part to interfere with the rights, or what was termed property, of the citizens of other States. While he did this, he conceived that as a citizen of the State of New-York, and a member of this House, he was interested in the claims to property in man, within the District of Columbia. He referred to the effect which was produced in the North by the advertisements in the papers of this city, connected with the purchase and transportation of slaves. The people of that section of the country believed slavery to be improper, and can be judiciously applied; but in respect to the object which this memorial discloses, I cannot doubt that there are existing evils which require a legislative remedy at our hands, in such form as our wisdom may devise. I cannot doubt that a period must arrive when the continuance of slavery within this District will be regarded, in its obvious aspects, as disgraceful to the nation, contrary to public opinion, and subversive alike of the rights of slaves and the interests of free citizens. The period, in my humble judgment, will have arrived as soon as the facts and arguments contained in such memorials as this, shall obtain a dispassionate, candid, and deliberate investigation.

Mr. Phillips said that he would desire a reference of this memorial to a select committee; but as such a reference had been already refused in a similar case, he would content himself for the present with asking that it should be laid on the table.

Mr. Dickinson presented a memorial from certain citizens of Rochester, in the State of New-York, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. D. said, that it was his wish that this subject should be referred to a Select Committee; but as the House refused to give it that distinction on a former occasion, he should now move that the memorial be laid on the table.

Mr. Dickinson then moved that the memorial and names annexed be printed.

Mr. Boon called for a division of the question.

The motion to print the memorial was then agreed to.

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memorial, he should feel it his bounden duty to vote to put their petition upon the files of the House, and he should continue to urge it with all the zeal of which he was capable, at the same time with all due consideration to the feelings, prejudices, interests, and rights of others, and which they were entitled to require at his hands. This he should do until the Committee on the District of Columbia or some other select Committee of the House, answered the question, and told us, at the same time giving their reasons, whether Congress had a right to legislate on this subject or not, and until the House had concurred in that decision.

Mr. Dickinson then withdrew that part of the motion proposing to print the names of the subscribers to the memorial.

Mr. Clay said: He was even more opposed to the printing of the memorial itself, than he was to printing the names appended to it, which he regarded as a matter of little consequence compared with the other. He was decidedly opposed to the publication of such a document. In spite of all the fair professions heard there upon the subject as to any non-interference with the rights, interests, and property of the Southern States, or any other property of this kind, gentlemen must be forgetful of the domestic policy and every thing else concerning the peace and tranquility of those States, when they act for the printing and publication of a document like the one under consideration. Are these gentlemen ignorant that the printing and publishing of documents of this kind in almost all the Southern States is prohibited under high and heavy penalties? and would they compel, or at least sanction the publication of documents by Congress, for doing which, if a Southern tribunal could lay their hands upon a printer doing the same on his individual responsibility, he would be treated and punished as a culprit? Do they call this non-interference with the rights of property, where slavery prevailed? Gentlemen might disclaim any intention of interfering with this subject; but when he heard such disclaimers as those made by the gentleman from New-York, covered by so thin a veil, as he had employed, Mr. C. could not yield his assent to them. The gentleman told us that this was a subject he had no intention of interfering with, while at the same time he called it a great national question, and consequently one that ought to be agitated in that House. Was it not a subject against which Southern people should decidedly protest? And was it not one calculated to excite the most direful calamities in that portion of the Union, whence Mr. C. and many of his friends came?

Mr. C. had no hesitation in giving an unqualified contradiction to the supposition that it was the wish of the intelligent and enlightened citizens of the Northern and Middle States to agitate this question. It was confined to a few fanatics, urged and guided by the Garrison, the Tappans, and others, their wire-workers, and whose object was public attention, and whose object was well known. He did not, he could not bring himself to believe that it was the wish of the great mass of the population of the New England or Middle States, to bring on this matter. Were we to be told, because a handful of fanatics, who were ready to light the torch of disaffection and civil discord through the country; were moving on this subject, that it was matter connected with the national prosperity, or that it was a matter of right to that description of individuals, to discuss and agitate the subject in that House? The gentleman from New-Jersey, (Mr. Parker) called upon the Committee for the District of Columbia to report on the subject, in order that it might be discussed and investigated. Why, that was the very course of proceeding calculated to produce the evils contemplated; evils of such a character as no good citizen in any part of this wide-spread and extensive Union ought for a moment to desire. Mr. C. would inquire, how came it that this was a matter of such concern to those individuals? Did it interfere with their domestic policy, their domestic rights, their liberty, their property, or their security, in any point of view? He was at a loss to perceive how it could. Why was it, then, that those persons sought to interfere with the domestic policy of others? It could not be denied, that this was a matter of domestic right and policy; and on what grounds, then, could they find themselves warranted or justified in interfering to give direction to that policy? It was a matter that concerned not them, either individually, or as a community. Until the Committee for the District of Columbia, or some other Committee, should report, the gentleman from New-Jersey tells us he should hold himself ready and willing to receive and print all memorials on the subject. But had the people of the District called upon Congress to legislate on the subject? They had not, and why should Congress be called upon by others to give a new direction to the domestic policy of others, without consent first obtained? That doctrine was contrary to any expressed wish of theirs. These petitioners might, with equal propriety, memorialize the Legislature of Virginia, or the Legislature of any other State, and call upon them, in the name of national honor, to reverse their policy, and abolish the laws authorizing the holding of property of this kind.

Mr. C. in conclusion said, for his own part, after the admission, which seemed to have been made on all hands, that this was a matter belonging to the People holding this peculiar species of property, and after the disclaimer that had been made of non-interference, and in the absence of any petition from the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, and without any call on the part of any of the States where property of this kind existed, he did think that these gentlemen ought not to press this subject, in any form whatever, upon the consideration of the House.

Mr. C. P. White moved to lay the motion to reconsider, and the memorial itself, on the table.

On a question from Mr. Wise, some conversation arose on the point, whether, if the motion to lay on the table prevailed, the motion to print, which had been announced by the Chair as adopted, would be considered and recorded as adopted? Mr. Wise, Mr. J. Q. Adams, and Mr. Briggs, participated therein.

The Chair said, it was a matter not entirely belonging to him, but as the question had been put to him he should say, that the Clerk of the House could not order the memorial to be printed, inasmuch as there would be, if the motion to lie on the table prevailed, a motion pending to reconsider the vote to print the memorial. The motion to lie on the table prevailing, would not finally dispose of the matter, because the House might call it up, on doing which the question would recur on the motion to reconsider.

Mr. Dickinson asked for the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

Mr. Gholson appealed to the gentleman from New-York (Mr. White), to withdraw his motion; for the people of the South were very anxious to know the feeling of the House upon the subject, and he hoped to see it expressed by a direct vote.

Mr. C. P. White said, though he was at all times glad to accommodate the gentleman, yet, in this particular, he must be excused.

The conversation on the point of order and the Speaker's decision, was resumed, and after a few moments spent thereon—

Mr. C. P. White said, to meet the views of the gentleman from Virginia, he withdrew the motion to lay the subject on the table, and moved the previous question.

The second to the previous question and the main question were both agreed to without a division.

The question then occurred on reconsidering the motion to print the memorial, on which the yeas and nays had been ordered, and it was decided as follows—Yeas 125, nays 51.

So the House determined to reconsider its vote.

Mr. Wise said: Although I have my feelings, my prejudices, my passions, and my fixed principles, and determination, as a Southern man, on this subject, yet I hope I can discuss it without excitement. I rise not, sir, to throw, as some others have thrown, a firebrand among us. I rise simply to state to my constituents and the country at large, the true state of feeling, and of the case as it exists here, in the North, and in the South.

I trust I am well assured, that the Representatives on this floor from the North, do not wish or design to interfere with our rights. That they merely feel bound in their representative duty to present these memorials, so dangerous in their tendency, and incendiary in their character, from respect to a few, a very few only, of their constituents comparatively, and that they do not act from their own impulses.

Sir, on this delicate and vitally important subject, the moderate, considerate, and patriotic men of the South, as well as of the North, have enemies to contend with. In the North we have a few misguided fanatics, whose zeal prompts them to rush blindly to the most absurd extremes; and in the South, I am sorry to say, there are not wanting those who seize upon every pretext to inflame the public mind on the subject of slavery. In this delicate situation, what should be the course of the friends of the country and its institutions? Why, sir, the friends of good order, of the constitution, and of the existence of this republic, in this House, or out of it, in the North or in the South, must use their influence to moderate and quench these spirits of both extremes of fanaticism and of disorganization.

When memorials of the character of this now asked to be printed, are presented, it is respectful enough, I should think, to the memorialists, to receive them; if printed, they will be circulated throughout the country, to fan the flame of the zealots on one side, and to serve as food for the disorganizers on the other. We who would be safe and secure in the blessings we now enjoy, will, therefore, smother these memorials on their first presentation. I am willing, sir, to treat all memorials, no matter how extravagant or preposterous, or of what character with respect, provided they are from a respectable body of citizens, decorous, and not dangerous in their tendencies. But, sir, I cannot tolerate, much less give consequence and eclat to memorials and petitions which strike at the very foundations of the social compact and our civil institutions. I will not hear them; I desire not to see them; and would reject them at once. With what sort of respect, I put it to the gentleman from the western part of New-York, (Mr. Fillmore,) could he treat an incendiary who would respectfully ask him to apply a torch to his dwelling? Would he regard him as a sober-minded neighbor or madman, as a friend or foe? Sir, I was sorry to hear some of the remarks from the gentleman of New-York are continually shocked by advertisements of slave dealers in the papers of this District. I am sorry, sir, that their nerves are so delicate, when their fathers did more than any other people of the colonies to establish slavery amongst us. And I appeal to Southern gentlemen for the truth of the remarkable fact that the emigrants from the North to the South, some from the gentleman's own district, perhaps, are as ready to become masters as any who are hereditary masters. To strengthen their nerves and change their whole principles and opinions on the subject, they have but to change their clime, their havens. If slavery was abolished in this District, I know not what would restrain the press still from publishing advertisements. And if the papers here cease to publish for runaways and purchasers of slaves, still the gentlemen would have to cease talking the people of the South, or to silence them too. Sir, slavery is interwoven with our very political existence, is guaranteed by our constitution, and its consequences must be borne with by our Northern brethren, as resulting from our system of Government; and they cannot attack the institution of slavery without attacking the institutions of the country, our safety and welfare.

The gentleman says, he will ever respect the property of the States, but he claims to legislate away the property of this District. Sir, a slave is as much property here as in Virginia; property by the law and the constitution. And, in addition to the remark of the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. McKinley,) that you will not surely take private property without just compensation—and that you cannot compensate without taking in part of the taxes of the South to pay for slaves, I will repeat the idea, that although you have exclusive jurisdiction over this 'ten miles square,' yet it is common ground, for the good of the whole, and for the use of the whole people of every State in the Union. And I would ask of the gentleman, if he can come upon this ground with his carriage and horses, why cannot I come with my slaves to remain here, to live here as long as I please? Sir, I say it not in passion, but calmly and dispassionately, that Congress has no right to abolish slavery even here, against the consent of slaveholders, who are not represented; and I warn gentlemen, that the South—I speak for all as strongly as one man can speak for many, for millions—that the South will fight to the last against the abolition of slavery in this District, unless the inhabitants owning slaves themselves petition for it, as they would against any interference with the right of slave property in Virginia.

The gentleman calls this a great 'national question.' I protest, sir, against its being so considered. The nation has nothing to do with slave property. It is simply a delicate

question of private, individual right, wholly and solely under the control of the States where slavery exists. It is a reserved State right, with which the General Government has no right of interference even, and from intermeddling with which the free States and their inhabitants should scrupulously abstain. The pseudo-philanthropists of the North do but defeat their own objects, when they rudely attempt to touch or handle a subject which does not immediately concern them; and true Christians and philanthropists will always find their principles, and the cause of humanity, best subserved, by being the friends of slaveholders, instead of being the friends of slaves, and by co-operating with intelligent, humane, enlightened and patriotic slave owners of the South, by ways and means which the lights of the age have already shown. If violence or intrusion upon our rights be persisted in, and pursued, gentlemen will find Union men and nullifiers of the South all united on the subject—ready, ripe for revolution, if the worst must come to the worst!

I hope, sir, that this House will not shock the South more by the printing of this memorial, than the constituents of the gentleman from New-York were ever shocked by slave advertisements, and that it, and all others like it, will now, and for all time to come, be smothered and suppressed.

Mr. Bouldin said he should not have risen again but for a remark made by his friend and colleague (Mr. Wise.) His colleague had said that he was not for sending a firebrand in the South; but for this part of his colleague's remarks, he would not have risen to say another word. Mr. B. said, far be it from him to cast, or be the means of casting a firebrand in the South or the North or anywhere. But he had said he would vote to print, merely that the South might know what was going on. He would put it to his colleague, if presenting such memorials as this, was not, as his colleague had said, like putting a torch to a man's house, and if a proposition not to print was not like putting a torch to his colleague's house privately, and on detection, asking him to keep it a secret?

Mr. Wise explained, and said he had no allusion to him, and that he was among the last men he would charge with throwing a firebrand.

Mr. Bouldin said he was sure of that, but did not know that every one would be equally so.

Mr. Archer then rose, and asked leave to make a suggestion to lay the whole subject on the table.

He said the South had their infirmities, their weaknesses, and their misfortunes, and perhaps the one alluded to was the greatest misfortune to which the people of the South were liable. But had gentlemen no misfortunes, no infirmities, in the body politic among them? Suppose he were to go into their country, and inquire into every thing, and see what they had and could not well get rid of. But he would not. He had no idea of being reduced to the necessity of answering and defending every infirmity and misfortune incident to our nature, or cover under the charge. Let them that were without fault, cast the first stone.

Mr. Bouldin said he would answer that suggestion of his colleague immediately. He wished only to say a word or two.

Mr. B. said, far be it from him, and very far had it been from him, to throw any firebrands, or make any offensive comparisons between his and any other part of the Union. But the memorial did. It alluded to habits, and customs, and legal rights common to this district, and of the States of the South, in the most disparaging terms. Mr. B. had refused, and did then refuse, to make any comparison of the principles, habits, or laws of the South and North and East.

He would, before sitting down, say one thing. He had seen, in the testimony taken before the House of Commons in England, proof that a man and his wife had literally starved, for want of the work to which they were brought up, in making negro cotton. He knew that many negroes had died from exposure to weather, for the want of that negro cotton. Clad in a flimsy fabric, that will turn neither wind nor water, substituted by northern and eastern people, who present these memorials, or from whose region they are presented, which substitute sold, under protecting duties, for the profit of perhaps four pence half penny in the yard. So the poor Englishman is starved, and the poor slave perishes in the cold for this profit. It appears, then, that after all their pious duties, sung and said, their philanthropy does not amount to 61-4 cents a yard in the negro's clothing. Having said thus much, and after hearing his colleague, and lest it should be thought by any one that he wished to throw a firebrand anywhere, he would, at the suggestion of his friend and colleague, (Mr. Archer,) with a view to get clear of the whole matter, and lay it on the table, yield to him the floor to make that motion.

Mr. Archer said he considered it almost as indiscreet in gentlemen from the south or slaveholding States to discuss this question, as it was for the representatives from the north to introduce it. He would add nothing to this remark, but moved to lay the whole subject on the table.

The question was then taken on laying the motion on the table by yeas and nays, and decided in the affirmative—Yeas 139, Nays 63.

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[For the Liberator.]

MRS. CHILD—THE OASIS.

There are women, as well as men, capable of 'marking the age in which they live with their names.' Such a woman is Mrs. Child. To an uncommon degree of practical knowledge and sound sense, she unites a feeling heart and a brilliant imagination. Deservedly she stands in the first rank of our Literary writers. But it is not as a novelist or a poet—eminently successful as she has been—that Mrs. Child is especially distinguished. Those works which have been so generally admired by the public, but faintly shadow forth the excellent qualities of her mind and heart.

Within a few years, she has written much and well. Her 'Juvenile Miscellany'—her 'Hints to people in moderate fortune'—her 'Fragrant Housewife'—her 'Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Africans'—and her late beautiful publication, 'THE OASIS'—are all animated with one spirit—alive with one great and generous purpose:

'The good-like aim to render less
The sum of human wretchedness.'

The Oasis which is the parlor of every friend of the slave; and in no way could Abolitionists aid the cause of holy liberty more effectually, than in aiding in its circulation.

The Philanthropy which Mrs. Child inculcates, has little to do with the modern, and, alas! too popular definition of the term. It is not like the vision which passed before Eliphaz, the Temanite, shadowy and dim. The form thereof can be

LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]

THE REBUKE.

Must man forever live a slave,
Where shouts of freedom rend the air?
And patriot fathers dared to brave
The tumults and the strife of war?

Let Europe's servile subjects fall
Obscured at the tyrant's feet,
And willing pay the homage small
That slaves in regal grandeur meet.

Let them the conqueror's aid assist,
To grasp the airy bubble fame,
All, all their high-born powers enlist,
For him to earn a fleeting name.

Degraded beings! must the thrall
Of ages sink you to the dust?
Nor can you power sufficient call
Oppression's arm made to thrust?

Not so with us; the noble plume
Of liberty is spreading wide;
The wretched of all nations plume
Beneath its sheltering wings to hide.

None who unequal laws decree,
Obsequious ask none dare refuse;
Not will the meanness of the free,
Ambition's haughty slaves amuse.

Forbear! a scornful voice replies;
In vain the distant ocean roars,
It cannot drown the piercing cries,
That echo on our rugged shores.

Your songs of triumph raised around,
Come mingled with the shrieks of pain;
Our ears unceasing catch the sound
Of gallant letters and the chain.

Yet you for Poland's lot can mourn,
And vengeance for her wrongs invoke;
For Greece's far-famed sons can burn,
Who languish 'neath the Turkish yoke.

But o'er your own high-bred land,
Oppression's form can fearless stalk,
While millions high and low attend,
Who dare the car of freedom rock.

Away with slavery! let the sound
Of bursting prisons fill the air;
Your ground will then be hallowed ground,
The freeman find a country there.

But still that hasting moment come,
Restraining your tears for foreign woes;
And let those eager mouths be dumb,
When prayers for foreign freedom rose.

W. B. O.

Lynn, 2nd mo. 1835.

[By Request.]

ODE, written by a gentleman of East Sudbury,
and sung by the choir of Rev. Mr. White's Church,
after the delivery of an Anti-Slavery Discourse.

1. America! extant sound,
To freedom dear;
Thy name's a spell to summon round,
From Liberty's enchanted ground,
All who, to love of Freedom bound,
Have sought her here;
Our Fathers' blood has sealed thy fame,
Then let their sons thy glorious name
Revere.
2. Against oppression's iron hand,
They nobly fought;
A fearless, mighty, conquering band,
They swore to live in Freedom's land,
To fall as men, or nobly stand,
As freemen ought;
Proud victors in the glorious strife,
Our freedom with their blood, their life,
They bought.
3. And is there then no slavery here,
America?
Go! see that Africa's Mother's tear—
Go! see that Sister weeping here—
Go! if thou more wouldst know, and hear
That Maiden's sigh;
Her lover's gone she waits not where,
But lays her down, in cold despair,
To die.
4. 'Mother! why sad and abject?' 'Why?
I weep a son.'
(She raises not her eyes on high,
She points not to the upper sky,
Her grief is not for those who die.)
'My son has gone;
He's now upon the ocean's wave,
Your freedom took him for a slave—
He's gone.'
5. And does thy soil a slave contain,
America?
Oh! blot it out, thy glory's stain;
Rise, freemen! burst the galling chain,
Break thro' the bonds his soul restrain,
Free the oppressed—
Fear not, for God protects the right;
Then onward in the glorious fight—
'Tis won!
6. Awake! arise! ye patriot band;
Ye hoisted free;
Rise! seize your brethren by the hand,
Their God, their souls, your aid demand;
Burst, burst their chains; make this a land
Of Liberty;
Resolve it shall not be a Slave;
But Freedom's home, or Freedom's grave,
Shall be.

[For the Liberator.]

THE SLAVE SHIP.

'Twas midnight—On the dark blue sea,
The moon looked forth in heavenly light;
The storm was o'er—and silently
The vessel plough'd through waters bright.

Their voyage of danger, on the main,
Rich with success is almost o'er;
And, hopeful of their homes again,
They anxiously look'd out for shore.

And they talked of liberty and love,
Of home and all the dear ones there;
And of grateful hearts to the God above,
And the holy offering of prayer.

But a wailing voice is heard below—
A voice from a wretched mother there,
The deepest plaint of human woe,
Is mingled with the voice of prayer.

Father of light and love,
Hear me! I pray—
Look from thy throne above!
Turn not away!

Avenge me of my foe!
Trembling and weak,
This heart beneath its woe—
Oh, let it break!

Didst Thou not make me, God?
Am I not Thine?
Look from Thy high abode
Down upon mine.

Have mercy on the slave—
Give me to die!
Let Ocean be my grave—
Hear from on high.

God bless my baby boy,
Far, far, away—
Sweet infant, mother's joy,
How shall I pray,

In words of such distress
As rends my heart?
Poor baby! motherless—
God, take his part!

Keep him in danger's hour,
Within Thy hand,
Far from the white man's power,
In Africa's land.

Vengeance is Thine, oh God!
Look on our woe—
Avenge us of our blood—
Destroy our foe!

Destroy the white man's race!
Curse him, nor spare!
Let him not see Thy face!
Hear not his prayer!

Limington, Me. January, 1835.

JESSEY.

MISCELLANEOUS.

EXAMINATION OF LAWRENCE.

Examination of Lawrence the assassin by
Drs. Causin and Sewell of Washington
City. The Globe says the gentlemen are
of opposite political opinions.

The undersigned, having been requested
by the Marshal of the District of Columbia
to visit Richard Lawrence, now confined in
the jail of the county of Washington, for an
attempt to assassinate the President of the
United States, with a view to ascertain, as
far as practicable, the present condition of
his bodily health and state of mind, and be-
lieving that a detail of the examination will
be more satisfactory than an abstract opinion
upon the subject, we therefore give the
following statement. On entering his room,
we engaged in a free conversation with him,
in which he participated, apparently, in the
most artless and unreserved manner. The
first interrogatory propounded, as to his age,
—which question alone he sportively de-
clined answering. We then inquired into
the condition of his health, for several years
past—to which he replied, that it had been
uniformly good, and that he had never labor-
ed under any mental derangement; nor did
he admit the existence of any of those symp-
toms of physical derangement which usually
attend mental alienation. He said he was
born in England, and came to this country
when twelve or thirteen years of age, and
that his father died in this District about 6
or 8 years since; that his father was a Pro-
testant and his mother a Methodist; and that
he was not a professor of any religion, but
sometimes read the bible, and occasionally
attended church. He stated that he was a
painter by trade, and had followed that oc-
cupation to the present time; but, of late,
could not find steady employment—which
had caused much pecuniary embarrassment
with him; that he had been generally tem-
perate in his habits, using ardent spirits
moderately when at work; but, for the last
three or four weeks, had not taken any; that
he had never gambled, and in other respects
had led a regular, sober life.

Upon being interrogated as to the circum-
stances connected with the attempted assas-
sination, he said that he had been deliberat-
ing on it for some time past, and that he had
called at the President's house about a week
previous to the attempt, and being conduct-
ed to the President's apartment by the por-
ter, found him in conversation with a mem-
ber of Congress, whom he believed to have
been Mr. Sutherland, of Pennsylvania; that
he stated to the President that he wanted
money to take him to England, and that he
must give him a check on the bank, and the
President remarked, that he was too much
engaged to attend to him—he must call an-
other time, for Mr. Dibble was in, waiting
for an interview. When asked about the
pistols which he had used, he stated that the
pistol left him a pair, but not being alike,
about four years since he exchanged one for
another which exactly matched the best of the
pair; these were both flint locks, which he
recently had altered to percussion locks, by
a Mr. Boteler; that he had been frequently
in the habit of loading and firing those pis-
tols at marks, and that he had never known
them to fail going off on any other occasion,
and that, at the distance of ten yards, the
ball always passed through an inch plank—
He also stated, that he had loaded those
pistols three or four days previous, by or-
dinary care, for the purpose attempted; but
that he used a pencil instead of a ram rod,
and that during that period, they were at all
times carried in his pocket; and when asked
why they failed to explode, he replied, he
knew no cause. When asked why he went
to the Capitol on that day, he replied that he
expected the President would be there. He
also stated, that he was in the Rotundo when
the President arrived, and on being asked
why he did not then attempt to shoot him,
he replied, that he did not wish to interfere
with the funeral ceremony, and therefore
waited till it was over. He also observed,
that he did not enter the Hall, but looked
through a window from the lobby, and saw
the President seated with members of Con-
gress, and he then returned to the Rotundo,
and waited till the President again entered
it, and then passed through and took his po-
sition in the east portico, about two yards
from the door, drew his pistols from his in-
side coat pocket, cocked them, and held one
in each hand, concealed by his coat, lest he
should alarm the spectators—and states that
as soon as the one in the right hand missed
fire, he immediately dropped or exchanged it,
and attempted to fire the second, before he
was seized; he further stated that he aimed
each pistol at the President's heart, and in-
tended, if the first pistol had gone off, and
the President had fallen, to have defend-
ed himself with the second, if defence had
been necessary. On being asked if he did
not expect to have been killed on the spot, if
he killed the President, he replied he did
not; and that he had no doubt but that he
would have been protected by the specta-
tors. He was frequently questioned whether
he had any friends present from whom he
expected protection. To this he replied
that he had never mentioned his intention to
any one, and that no one in particular knew
his design; but that he presumed it was
generally known that he intended to put the
President out of the way. He further stated,
that when the President arrived at the
door, near which he stood, finding him sup-
ported on the left by Mr. Woodbury, and
observing many persons in his rear, and be-
lieving himself rather to the right of the Pres-
ident, in order to avoid wounding Mr. Wood-
bury, and those in the rear, he stepped a lit-
tle to his own right, so that should the ball
pass through the body of the President, it
would be received by the door-frame, or stone
wall. On being asked if he felt no trepidation
during the attempt, he replied, not the
slightest, until he found that the second
pistol had missed fire. Then observing that
the President was advancing upon him, with
an uplifted cane, he feared it contained a
sword, which might have been thrust through
him before he could have been protected by
the crowd. And when interrogated as to
the motive which induced him to attempt
the assassination of the President, he re-
plied, that he had been told that the Presi-
dent had caused his loss of occupation, and the
consequent want of money, and he believed
that to put him out of the way, was the only

remedy for this evil; but to the interrogat-
ory, who told you this? he could not identify
any one, but remarked that his brother-in-
law, Mr. Redfern, told him that he would
have no more business, because he was op-
posed to the President—and he believed
Redfern to be in league with the President
against him. Again, being questioned,
whether he had often attended the debates in
Congress, during the present session, and
whether they had influenced him in making
this attack on the person of the President,
he replied that he had frequently attended
the discussions in both branches of Congress,
but that they had, in no degree, influenced
his action.

Upon being asked if he expected to be-
come the President of the United States, if
General Jackson had fallen, he replied no.

When asked whom he wished to be the
President, his answer was, there were per-
sons in the House of Representatives.
On being asked if there were no persons in
the Senate, yes, several; and it was the
Senate to which I alluded. Who, in your
opinion, of the Senate, would make a good
President? He answered, Mr. Clay, Mr.
Webster, Mr. Calhoun. What do you think
of Col. Benton, Mr. Van Buren, or Judge
White, for President? He thought they
would do well. On being asked if he knew
any member of either House of Congress,
he replied that he did not—and never spoke
to one in his life, or to any of them. On being
asked what benefit he expected to himself
from the death of the President, he answered
he could not rise unless the President fell,
and that he expected thereby to recover his
liberty, and that the mechanics would all be
benefited; and that money would be more
plenty. On being asked why it would be
more plenty, he replied, it would be more
easily obtained from the Bank.

On being asked what bank, he replied, the
Bank of the United States. On being asked
if he knew the President, Directors, or
any of the officers of the Bank, or had ever
held any intercourse with them, or knew
how he could get money out of the Bank,
he replied no—that he slightly knew Mr.
Smith only.

On being asked with respect to the speeches
which he had heard in Congress, and
whether he was particularly pleased with
those of Messrs. Calhoun, Clay, and Web-
ster, he replied that he was, because they
were on his side. He was then asked if he
was well pleased with the speeches of Col.
Benton and Judge White? He said he was,
and thought Col. Benton highly talented.

When asked if he was friendly to Gen.
Jackson, he replied, No. Why not? He
answered, because he was a tyrant. Who
told you he was a tyrant? He answered, it
was a common talk with the people, and
that he had read it in all the papers. He was
asked if he could name any one who told
him so? He replied, No. He was asked if
he ever threatened to shoot Mr. Clay, Mr.
Webster, or Mr. Calhoun, or whether he
would shoot them if he had an opportunity?
He replied, No. When asked if he would
shoot Mr. Van Buren? He replied, that he
once met with Mr. Van Buren in the Rotun-
do, and told him he was in want of money
and must have it, and if he did not get it he
(Mr. Van Buren) or Gen. Jackson must fall.
He was asked if any persons were present
during this conversation? He replied, that
there were several present, and when asked
if he recollected any one of them, he re-
plied that he did not. When asked if any one
advised him to shoot General Jackson, or say
that it ought to be done? he replied, I do
not like to say—On being pressed upon this
point, he said that no one in particular had
advised him.

He further stated, that believing the Presi-
dent to be the source of all his difficulties,
he was still fixed in his purpose to kill him,
and if his successor pursued the same course,
to put him out of the way also—and declar-
ed that no power in this country could
punish him for having done so, because it was
resisted by the powers of Europe, as well
as of this country. He also stated, that he
had been long in correspondence with the
powers of Europe, and that his family had
been wrongfully deprived of the crown of
England, and that he should yet live to re-
gain it—and that he considered the Presi-
dent of the United States nothing more than
his Clerk.

We now think proper to add, that the
young man appears perfectly tranquil and
unconcerned, as to the final result, and
seems to anticipate no punishment for what
he has done. The above contains the lead-
ing, and literally expressed facts of the whole
conversation we had with him, which con-
tinued at least two hours. The questions
were frequently repeated at different stages
of the examination; and presented in vari-
ous forms.

NATHL. P. CAUSIN, M. D.

Physician to the Jail of Washington.

THOMAS SEWELL, M. D.

[From the Salem Landmark.]

'INQUIRE AT AMOS GILES' DISTILLERY.'
Some time ago the writer's notice was
arrested by an advertisement in one of the
Newspapers, which closed with words simi-
lar to the following: 'Inquire at Amos Giles'
Distillery.' The readers of the Landmark
may suppose, if they choose, that the follow-
ing story was a dream, suggested by that
phrase—

Deacon Giles was a man who loved money,
and was never troubled with tenderness of
conscience. His father and his grandfather
before him had been distillers, and the same
occupation had come to him as an heirloom
in his family. The still-house was black with
age as well as with the smoke of furnaces
that never went out, and the fumes of tur-
tured ingredients, ceaselessly converting
into alcohol. It looked like one of Vulcan's
Stithies translated from the infernal regions
into this world. Its stench filled the atmos-
phere, and it seemed as if drops of poisonous
alcoholic perspiration might be made to ooze
out from any one of its timbers or clappings
on a slight pressure. Its owner was the
treasurer to a Bible Society, and had a little
counting room in one corner of the distillery,
where he sold Bibles.

He had a great deal of gain trouble in his
own house. Any one of those Bibles would have
told him this, but he chose to learn it from
experience. It was said that the worm of
the still lay coiled in the bosom of the family,
and certain it is that one of its members had
drowned himself in the vat of hot liquor, in
the bottom of which a skeleton was some-
times after found, with heavy weights tied to
the ancle bones. Moreover, Deacon Giles'
temper was none of the sweetest, naturally,
and the liquor he drank, and the fires and
spirituous fumes among which he lived, did
much to soften it. If his workmen some-
times fell into his vats, he himself oftener
fell out with his workmen. This was not to
be wondered at, considering the nature of
their wages, which, according to no unre-

quent stipulation, would be as much raw rum
as they could drink.

Deacon Giles worked on the Sabbath. He
would neither suffer the fires of the distillery
to go out, nor to burn while he was idle; so
he kept as busy as they. One Saturday af-
ternoon his workmen had quarrelled, and all
went off in anger. He was in much per-
plexity for want of hands to do the work of
the evening, the Lord's day. In the dusk of
the evening, a gang of singular looking fel-
lows entered the door of the distillery. Their
dress was wild and uncouth, their eyes
glared, and their language had a tone that
was awful. They offered to work for the
Deacon, and he on his part, was overjoyed,
for he thought within himself that as they
had probably been turned out of employ-
ment elsewhere, he could engage them on
his own terms.

He made them his accustomed offer; as
much rum every day when work was done,
as they could drink, but they would not take
it. Some of them broke out, and told him
they had enough of hot things where they
came from, without drinking damnation in the
distillery. And when they said that, it
seemed to the Deacon as if their breath
burned blue; but he was not certain, and
could not tell what to make of it. Then he
offered them a pittance of money; but they
set up such a laugh, that he thought the roof
of the building would fall in. They demand-
ed a sum, which the Deacon said he could
not give, and would not, to the best set of
workmen that ever lived, much less to such
piratical looking escape-jacks as they. Finally
he said he would give half what they asked,
if they would take two thirds of that in Bibles.
When he mentioned the word Bibles, they
all looked towards the door, and made a step
backwards, and the Deacon thought they
trembled, but whether it was with anger, or
dearum tremens, or something else, he could
not tell. However they winked and made
signs to each other, and then one of them,
who seemed to be the head man, agreed with
the Deacon, that if he would let them work
by night instead of day, they would stay with
him awhile, and work on his own terms. To
this he agreed, and they immediately went to
work.

The Deacon had a fresh cargo of molasses
to be worked up, and a great many hogs-
heads then in from his country customers,
to be filled with liquor. When he went
home, he locked up the doors, leaving the
distillery to his new workmen. As soon as
he was gone, you would have thought one
of the chambers of hell had been transport-
ed to earth, with all its inmates. The dis-
tillery glowed with fires, that burned hotter
than ever before, and the figures of the de-
mons passing to and fro, and leaping and
yelling in the midst of their work, made it
look like the entrance to the bottomless pit.

Some of them sat astride the rafters, over
the heads of the others, and amused them-
selves with blowing flames out of their
mouths. The work of distilling suited them,
and they carried it on with supernatural ra-
pidity. It was not enough to have boiled
the molasses in any part of the distillery,
but they did not seem to mind it at all. Some
lifted the hogsheads as easily as you would
raise a tea-cup, and turned their contents
into the proper receptacles; some scummed
the boiling liquids; some with haggard
dipped the smoking fluid from the different
vats, and raising it high in the air, seemed
to take great delight in watching the fiery
stream, as they spouted it back again; some
drafted the distilled liquor into empty casks
and hogsheads; some stirred the fires; all
were boisterous and horribly profane, and
seemed to engage in their work with such
familiar and malignant satisfaction, that I
concluded the business of distilling was as na-
tural as hell, and must have originated
there.

I gathered from their talk that they were
going to play a trick upon the Deacon, that
should cure him of offering rum and bibles
to his workmen; and I soon found out, from
their conversation and movements, what it
was. They were going to write certain in-
scriptions on all his rum casks, that should
remain invisible, till they were sold by the
Deacon, but should flame out in characters
of fire, as soon as they were broached by his
retailers, or exposed for the use of the drink-
ers. When they had filled a few casks
with liquor, one of them took a great coal
of fire, and having quenched it in a mixture
of rum and molasses, proceeded to write, ap-
parently by way of experiment, upon the heads
of the different vessels. Just as it was done,
they left off work, and all vanished together.

In the morning, the Deacon was puzzled
to know how the workmen got out of the
distillery, which he found fast locked as he
had left it. He was still more amazed to find
they had done more work in one night, than
could have been accomplished, in the ordi-
nary way, in three weeks. He pondered
the thing not a little, and almost concluded
that it was the work of supernatural agents.
At any rate, they had done so much that he
thought he could afford to attend meeting
that day, as it was the Sabbath. Accord-
ingly he went to church, and heard his minister
say that God could pardon sin without an
atonement, that the words hell and devils
were mere figures of speech, and that all
men would certainly be saved. He was
much pleased, and inwardly resolved he
would send his minister a half cask of wine,
and as it happened to be communion Sabbath,
he attended meeting all day.

In the evening the men came again, and
again the Deacon locked them to themselves,
and they went to work. They finished his
molasses, and filled all his rum-barrels, and
kegs, and hogsheads with liquor, and marked
them all as on the preceding night, with in-
visible inscriptions. Most of the titles ran
thus:—'Consumption sold here. Inquire at
Deacon Giles' Distillery.' 'Convulsions and
Epilepsies. Inquire at Amos Giles' Distil-
lery.' 'Insanity and Murder. Inquire at
Deacon Giles' Distillery.' 'Dropsy in the
Colicape. Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.'
'Delirium Tremens. Inquire at Deacon
Giles' Distillery.'

Many of the casks had on them inscrip-
tions like the following: 'Distilled death and
liquid damnation. The Elixir of Hell, for
the bodies of those whose souls are coming
there. Some of the demons had even taken
sentences from the Scriptures, and marked
the hogsheads thus: 'Who hath we? In-
quire at Deacon Giles' Distillery. Who hath
redness of eyes? Inquire at Deacon Giles'
Distillery.' Others had written sentences
like the following: 'A portion from the lake
of fire and brimstone. Inquire at Deacon
Giles' Distillery! All these inscriptions
burned, when visible, 'a still and awful red.'
One of the most terrible in its appearance
was as follows: 'Weeping and wailing, and
gnashing of teeth. Inquire at Deacon Giles'
Distillery.'

In the morning the workmen vanished, as
before, just as it was done; but in the dusk
of the evening they came again and told the
Deacon it was against their principles to take
any wages for work done between Saturday

night and Monday morning, and as they could
not stay with him any longer, he was wel-
come to what they had done. The Deacon
was very urgent to have them remain, and
offered to hire them for the season at any
wages, but they would not. So he thanked
them, and they went away, and he saw them
no more.

In the course of the week, most of the
casks were sent into the country, and duly
hoisted on their stoups, in conspicuous situ-
ations, in the taverns, and groceries, and rum
shops. But no sooner had the first glass
been drawn from any of them, than the in-
visible inscriptions flamed out on the cask
head to every beholder. 'CONSUMPTION
SOLD HERE. DELIRIUM TREMENS, DEATH,
DAMNATION AND HELL-FIRE.' The drunk-
ards were terrified from the dram-shops; the
bar-rooms were emptied of their customers;
but in their place a gaping crowd filled every
store that possessed a cask of the Deacon's
devil-distilled liquor, to wonder and be fright-
ened at the spectacle; for no cart could efface
the inscriptions. And even when the liquor
was drawn into new casks, the same deadly
letters broke out in blue and red flame all
over the surface.

The rum-sellers, and grocers, and tavern-
keepers, were full of fury. They loaded
their teams with the accursed liquor, and
drove it back to the distillery. All around
and before the door of the Deacon's estab-
lishment the returned casks were piled one
upon another, and it seemed as if the in-
scriptions burned brighter than ever. Con-
sumption, Delirium, Death and Hell, mingled
together in frightful confusion; and in equal
prominence, in every case flamed out the
direction, 'INQUIRE AT DEACON GILES'
DISTILLERY.' One would have thought that
the bare sight would have been enough to
terrify every drunkard from his cups, and
every trader from the dreadful traffic in ar-
dent spirits. Indeed, it had some effect for
a time, but it was not lasting, and the demon
knew it would not be, when they played the
trick: for they knew the Deacon would con-
tinue to make rum, and that as long as he
continued to make it, there would be people
to buy and drink it. And so it proved.

The Deacon had to turn a vast quantity
of liquor into the street, and burn up the
hogsheads; and his distillery has smelted of
brimstone ever since; but he would not give
up the trade. He carries it on still, and ev-
ery time I see his advertisement, 'Inquire at
Amos Giles' Distillery,' I think I see Hell
and Damnation, and he the proprietor.

Off Hats, Gentlemen!—The Bishop is com-
ing!—The following extract from the New
York Sun of yesterday will be read with as-
tonishment and indignation by every Ameri-
can in whose bosom beats the heart of a
man.—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

RIOT IN CINCINNATI.—We regret to
learn by the Cincinnati Journal, that a serious
riot occurred in that city a short time
since, on the occasion of the consecration of
the Catholic Chapel. It appears that Dr.
Alexander Duncan (a member of the Ohio
Senate,) happened to be standing in the street
through which the procession passed, and
not aware that the rules of their church
require every person to uncover his head in
the presence of the Bishop on such occa-
sions, he neglected to take off his hat. On
the arrival of the procession opposite to
where he stood, he was requested to un-
cover his head immediately. He replied that he
was in a public street, and that how much
soever he respected the forms and ceremon-
ies of the Catholic religion, it could compen-
sate his dignity as an American citizen to
do homage to any man. On saying this, he
was immediately surrounded by a large num-
ber of those in the procession, his hat forc-
ibly torn from his head, his clothes torn, and
himself beaten in a most shocking manner.
Several other persons who had the hardihood
to stand in the presence of a foreign bishop
with their hats on, shared the same fate with
Dr. Duncan. By the accounts in the pa-
pers, there was a good deal of excitement
on the subject, and tears were entertained
that another Charleston scrape would be
the result. It is extremely unpleasant, as
the conductor of a press, to record such
scenes as those, as occurring in the United
States. The Catholics who have emigrated
to this country are very numerous. They
enjoy all the benefits of our free insti-
tutions. The liberty of speech, of the press,
and of conscience, is guaranteed to them by
the Constitution of our Government—and
there is no necessity of resorting to violence
as a means of promulgating their religion.
It is too late in the day to command Ameri-
can citizens to take off their hats to the
agents of the Pope of Rome. We are natu-
rally a peaceable unoffending people. We
are willing that all should act and think as
they please on matters of religion, and we
demand the same privilege.

We knew that in the intimate dominions
of Popery, all heads must be uncovered at
the approach of certain processions, but we
could not have believed it possible that that
intolerant religion would have the audacity,
as yet, to attempt to enforce the same indig-
nity upon American citizens. Had this outrage
been committed by Presbyterians,
Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, or any
other sect, except the Catholics, the country
would ring with bursts of indignation from
one end to the other. And well it might.
What have we gained by our political em-
ancipation, if we are still to be lorded over
by Priests and Bishops, of all tyrannies
the worst? By foreign Bishops too, ap-
pointed by the Pope, and sent here to com-
pel that reverence from American Senators,
which would not be yielded, nor required, in
behalf of the President of the United States!
No wonder that such an outrage should be-
get a riot! though the only violence used,
appears to have been on the part of the
Catholics.

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL RETURNS.—
An abstract of the School Returns, recently
published by order of the Legislature, pre-
sents a highly satisfactory view of Schools
of the State. Of 301 towns, the whole
number in the State, 301 have made returns.
In these towns, the number of School dis-
tricts is 2251; male children attending
school, from 4 to 16 years of age, 67,499;
female children 63,728; children over 16
and under 20, unable to read and write, 156;
male instructors 1867; female instructors
2388; amount raised by tax to support schools,
\$310,178 87; amount raised by contribution
to support schools, \$15,141 58. The aver-
age number of scholars at academies and
private schools 24,749. Estimated amount
paid for tuition in academies, &c. \$276,505
75. Total amount paid for schools in these
261 towns, \$600,825 90. In 70 towns there
are local funds reported. In Boston, 8,423
children are reported as attending the pub-
lic schools, and 4,018 attending academies and
private schools—total 12,441; wages of the
131 instructors of the public schools, \$55,
500; amount raised by tax, \$67,000; estima-

ted amount expended in academies and
private schools, \$107,702—total expended,
\$174,702 00.

We copy the following statement respec-
ting some of our principal towns:—

Towns.	Pop.	Public Schools.	Private Schools.
Salem,	13,886	10,500	2,000
Newburyport,	6,388	4,000	800
Cambridge,	6,071	3,774	600
Charlestown,	8,787	5,000	700
Worcester,	4,172	3,385	500
Northampton,	3,613	1,925	200
Springfield,	6,784	3,750	200
Westfield,	2,941	1,182	200
Dorchester,	4,664	4,000	2,140
New Bedford,	7,692	5,500	900
Taunton,	6,045	3,000	1,500
Nantucket,	7,302	5,000	10,000

The Religious Magazine.—We have re-
ceived the No. 10, of a new monthly pe-
riodical bearing the above title, published in
New-York, and edited by Mr. Origen Bal-
chler. It is a large imperial octavo work of
64 pages—neatly printed, stitched and cov-
ered; price, \$3 per annum in advance. It
is got up in excellent style, both in respect
to matter and manner; and contains a mass
of miscellaneous information, relating to the
various religions of mankind, their creeds,
history, ceremonies, &c. &c., deeply inter-
esting to almost every description of readers.
It presents also numerous cuts and engrav-
ings illustrative of the persons, things, sec-
taries and ceremonies treated of in the various
articles. Besides this valuable miscellany,
there are doctrinal and controversial articles
on several subjects. An invitation is given
particularly to Calvinists and Arminians to
discuss their points of difference in its pages.
Restorationism, whittier, receives a touch.
The work promises to be worthy of an ex-
tensive patronage.—Independent Messenger.

France and Hayti.—A letter from Port
au Prince, dated 13th January, says:—We
have two French ships of war here, and it is
said that the French Government has ac-
cepted the offer of this Government made some
time since. This Government is to pay
1,000,000 of francs in cash, this being the
debt of Lafitte, besides 45,000,000 francs to
be paid in 45 years. We consider the af-
fairs between the two Governments as finally
settled.